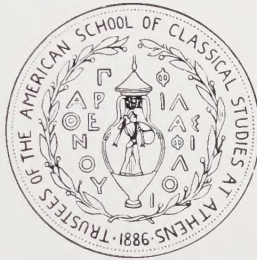


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THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS
IN THE
ATHENIAN AGORA
SEVENTH REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA
SEVENTH REPORT

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1933

PLATE II

In pursuance of the policy of giving annually a general comprehensive account of the progress of the excavation of the American Zone of the Athenian Agora a report is here presented of the third campaign of excavation which was begun on February 6, 1933 and was continued until July 8. The administrative organization of the enterprise remained the same as it was in the preceding year and the project continued to receive the cordial coöperation of the archaeological and executive authorities of the Greek Government. Several changes in the scientific staff should be noted. The withdrawals were F. O. Waagé who had completed a three years' term of service as Agora Fellow, Mrs. Arthur Parsons who rendered valuable service in the cataloguing department, and Mrs. Mary Wyckoff Simpkin who had completed a three year term and whose subsequent untimely death brought to an end a most promising career as an archaeological artist. The additions to the staff were J. H. Oliver and A. W. Parsons, Agora Fellows, Miss Gladys Baker and Miss Mary Zelia Pease in the coin department, Mrs. Joan Bush, photographer, and Piet de Jong, artist.

Excavations were conducted in four city blocks after the modern houses there located had been demolished and removed, and in the course of the season 23,000 tons of earth were cleared from a total area of about two acres. The sectors of excavation, which are designated by the Greek letters Eta (Η), Zeta (Ζ), Theta (Θ), and Iota (Ι) are marked on the plan of the American Zone which is reproduced in Fig. 1. The relation of the excavated area to the neighboring landmarks is clearly shown in the photograph taken at the close of the season from the air by the Greek Air Service through the courtesy of the Ministry of Communications, and reproduced as the Frontispiece of this Number (Plate II). The limits of the Zone can be readily identified by the roadbed of the Athens-Peiraeus electric railway on the north, by the Stoa of Attalos on the east, by the Acropolis and Areopagus on the south, and by the "Theseum" on the west. The view also illustrates the position of the American Zone in reference to the site of the excavations of the German Institute at the Kerameikos in the upper left corner; and in the right centre of the picture appears the Roman Agora which is being excavated by the Greeks.



Fig. 1. City Plan of the American Zone

SECTION ETA

The most northern area of the excavations, Section Eta, is situated between Poseidon and Eponymon Streets, east of the Kolonos Agoraios on which stands the "Theseum." Because of the large size of this area it was divided longitudinally for excavation with Dr. Thompson in charge of the work on the west side and Dr. Oliver supervising that



Fig. 2. Section Eta during Excavation

on the east. A view of the area as it appeared during the progress of the excavation is shown in Figure 2. The picture which was made from the terrace in front of the "Theseum" gives a view towards the northeast with Mt. Lycabettus in the distant background. In the foreground are the ancient foundations which were uncovered by the Germans in 1896 and by the Greeks in 1907. The partly demolished wall extending across the centre of the picture is all that remains of the northern end of Poseidon Street and this, too, had been removed by the end of the season when the photograph reproduced in Figure 3 was made.

The clearance of the west side of this terrain led to the uncovering of the foundations of the east front of the stoa that had been found in Section Alpha in 1931 and to the discovery of pieces of architecture and of sculpture which evidently belonged to that

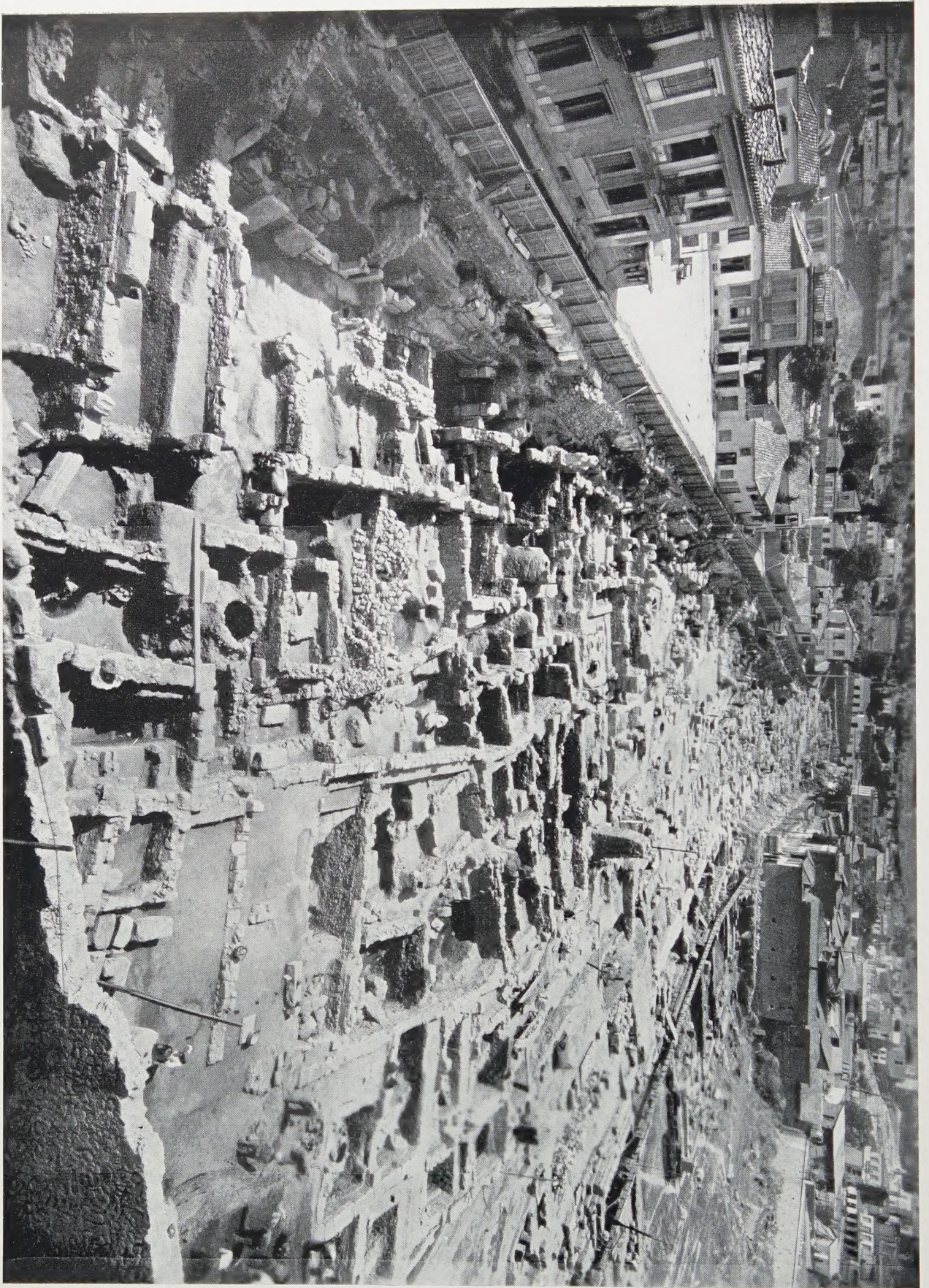


Fig. 3. Excavated West Side of the American Zone

building. Many small fragments of architectural members had much blue color preserved on them and they, as well as two drums of Doric columns, exhibit a fine type of workmanship characteristic of the style of the latter part of the fifth century B.C. Indeed, the earth in front of the stoa was filled with broken pieces of marble and among these were lying shattered fragments of two marble statues of a winged Nike, of which one is fairly well preserved and will be described in a later article in this Number of *Hesperia*. The date when the general destruction occurred in this region is proved by the lamps, pottery and coins in the débris to be the end of the fourth century after Christ.

At a depth of ten to twelve feet below the modern surface this area is crowded with walls of houses of the Byzantine period. The walls at the north end constitute a single large building. These walls appear in the right foreground of Figure 3, which gives a view from the north of the complete extent of the area of excavations on the west side. The east, south and west limits of the Byzantine building are preserved, but on the north it is cut by the railroad. It measures 48 m. from east to west and over 30 m. from north to south, and is divided into 28 rooms that are grouped about a central court. The foundations are of rubble, bedded in clay and laid in narrow trenches, and the floors were made of packed dirt. It may be deduced from the plan of the building as well as from its unpretentious construction that the rooms were used for shops or for modest private dwellings.

Evidence for dating the structure is provided by coins found directly under the floors that belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. None was secured that is later than the twelfth century. The filling over the floors contained mostly Frankish coins and the building, therefore, seems to have been abandoned in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Beneath this building traces of a structure of earlier Byzantine times were noted, and at a lower level appeared the walls of a Roman building.

The walls of the Roman period have a different orientation from those of the later buildings. This difference is clearly visible in the photograph from the air shown in Figure 4. The superimposed walls (marked by an arrow) appear in the centre of the excavated area, just south of the railroad. The plan of the building, which measures 27.50 m. by 24.80 m., consists of a series of rooms that occupy the four sides of a rectangle and are separated by a continuous corridor, *ca.* 3.20 m. wide, from an interior rectangular area, which was perhaps a colonnaded courtyard. Four rooms are on the south side and five on the west. The foundation walls are made of hard concrete that was poured into trenches cut in the earth. No traces of the floor are preserved since it was thoroughly destroyed in the construction of the Byzantine buildings above.

The approximate date of the Roman building is derived from the context of the stratification around a water-pipe which passes through its west wall near the northwest corner. This pipe is imbedded in the concrete and must, therefore, be contemporary with the building. The layer of earth about it yielded late Roman pottery and late lamps of the type dated in the 4th to 5th centuries A.D. Similar objects of like date were secured from the earth directly overlying the pipe, which must have been thrown in.

Fig. 4. Excavated Area on the West Side as seen from the Air



immediately after the laying of the pipe for otherwise the pipe would have been trampled and broken. Confirmatory chronological evidence is provided by the coins found in this stratum, which include three of Constantius II, 323–361 A.D., one each of Valens, 364–378, Valentinianus II, 375–392, Arcadius, 395–405, and three of illegible type of the Roman fourth century period.

Dr. Thompson, from whose report of this excavation is taken the account here given, suggests that the construction of the Roman building, which must be dated at earliest



Fig. 5. Site of Mycenaean Grave

near the end of the fourth century, may be associated with the large lime pits uncovered in front of the neighboring stoa in Section Alpha. The filling of earth in the pits contained late Roman pottery and lamps and coins of the late fourth and of the early fifth centuries. Apparently the construction of the Roman building postdates the general havoc wrought in the late fourth century for the building overlies the remains of monument bases of the classical period. Also, fragments of the marble geison of the stoa in Alpha, found deep below floor level in rooms of the Byzantine building, indicate that blocks of the stoa had been broken up on this spot before the Roman building was begun.

A surprising discovery in this sector was that of a Mycenaean burial. In a small area surrounded by the walls of Byzantine houses the scant remains of three skeletons were lying close together just beneath the floor level of the classical period. Figure 5 shows this pocket with the Byzantine walls on either side of it. The bones had been disturbed and the pottery associated with them was in fragmentary condition. Parts of



Fig. 6. Sherds from Mycenaean Grave

five vases were secured, as illustrated in Figure 6, but all are far from complete. The shapes include a one-handled jug and a small jar with horizontal handles which is decorated with spirals on its shoulder. The ware belongs to the late Mycenaean period (L.H. III), dating from about 1200 B.C. The burial also yielded one blue glass bead and a gold signet ring.¹

The ring is decorated with an interesting scene that evidently has religious or sacrificial significance (Fig. 7). A group of three persons, two women and a man, is

¹ The dimensions of the ring are: diam. of hoop: 0.016 m.; length of bezel: 0.019 m.; width of bezel: 0.013 m.

represented. On the right the man, who is apparently nude except for a loin-cloth, is striding to the right holding a long staff in his right hand. Near the top of the staff are two prongs which, however, extend upwards and not downwards. This is not a suitable shape for the tip of a spear, nor does the smooth straight shaft resemble the branch of a tree. The object may be more reasonably interpreted as a scepter. The man's left arm is concealed by his body, but he is evidently holding with the left hand one end of a double cord of which the other end is fastened to the waist of the foremost of the two women. A small stroke extends diagonally beyond the man's left shoulder but its significance is not apparent. The women are dressed in characteristic Cretan-Mycenaean costume, with ruffs around the neck, with thick rolls about the waist, and with long flounced skirts. The position of their hands behind their backs gives the impression that they are bound.

The heads of the figures are of the crude unformed type that frequently appears on the seals. This characteristic is well illustrated in the enlarged drawing by Mr. Piet de Jong reproduced in Figure 8. The head of the goddess on the Late Minoan gold signet from Mochlos is represented in a similar sketchy form (R. Seager, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos*, p. 90, fig. 52. Cp. A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, 1, p. 250, fig. 147). But on the seal from the Agora a distinction in shape is made between the head of the man and those of the women. The aspect of the head of the male

figure suggests an animal type and I have proposed the interpretation of the figure as the bull-headed man, the minotaur, who is leading the captive Athenian women to the sacrifice (*A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 540). If it be argued that the conventional rendering of the women's heads implies a similar convention for the head of the man, there still remains the significant scene of two captive women being conducted by a man who is carrying what may be possibly interpreted as a scepter. Such a group may be quite as cogently associated with the later legend of King Minos and the Athenian maidens as the scene on a gold seal from Thisbe is with Oedipus slaying the sphinx (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 418, fig. 282), or as that on a sealing from Knossos is with Odysseus and the dog-headed monster Skylla (*Ibid.*, I, p. 698, fig. 520).

Seals of this type usually bear cult scenes, as Mr. Seager has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 90), and in the present instance the sacral significance is indicated by a small column on a base with a top made of three small beams. There are slight traces of an object, perhaps a bird, above the table, but they are so indistinct that they were not included in de Jong's drawing. In the space between the man and the women, near the upper



Fig. 7. Gold Ring from Mycenaean Grave
Scale 2:1

edge of the bezel, a symbol is represented that resembles a Minoan alphabetical sign (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, pp. 406 and 407, figs. 269 and 270). But since we are evidently dealing with a sacrificial or cult scene this object may have some occult significance and may be interpreted as the soul of the dead appearing as a highly conventionalized butterfly (cp. *ibid.*, pp. 151 and 152). The ring clearly has close Minoan



Fig. 8. Design on Bezel of Ring. Scale 4:1

affiliations but it is impossible to determine whether it was itself imported from Crete or was made locally by an immigrant artist.

The great drain has been uncovered throughout the entire extent of this area of the excavations, and its course is clearly discernible in the views from the air, but it has been so badly damaged by the construction of the later buildings above it that rarely more is preserved than the lower courses of its walls. In one place at the south end of the area the damage evidently was done by a flood since the foundation stones have been dislodged, with a consequent subsidence of the ground. In order to correct this condition three foundation courses of heavy blocks were laid at this point when the

repairs were made. All the objects found in the drain antedate the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, and the orientation of the Roman building at the north end of the area is adjusted to the course of the drain, while the overlying Byzantine walls are built in disregard of it. But in spite of the clogging of its channel with earth this drain must always have served to some extent to carry away by seepage the surplus water of the district. It has now been thoroughly cleared so as again to function, as it did in antiquity, as the principal drain of the Agora.

On the east side of the area, at a depth of between five and seven metres, substantial foundations of the Greek period were uncovered. They have an east to west orientation, but since they pass out of the area beneath Eponymon Street their further investigation must await the expropriation and excavation of the blocks lying east of the street.

SECTION ZETA

The second area of excavation, Zeta, is also situated between Eponymon and Poseidon Streets, and is bordered on the north and south by two areas previously excavated, Sections Epsilon and Delta. The air views again distinctly show how the clearance of this area revealed the extension of the great drain that passes through the northern sectors. It here makes a bend to the east and at the eastern edge of the area branches into two forks, of which one leads to the east and the other to the southwest. Since the drain followed the course of the ancient road it is clear that two routes led out of this part of the Agora, one passing between the Acropolis and the Areopagus and the other between the Areopagus and the Pnyx.

The drain in this section, as elsewhere, was originally constructed of polygonal masonry in the style of the sixth century B.C., and was repaired at sundry later times. It had been observed that in Section Epsilon inscribed stelae had been re-used in connection with such repairs so that no surprise was experienced when stelae were found similarly used here. But it was cause of much gratification that one stele, which was inscribed with a long decree, was completely preserved. The inscription happens to present some serious chronological problems which have not yet been solved. The decree was issued in the year of the archon Philon, "the one after Menedemos." Philon was archon in 178-177 B.C., and the style of the writing and the deme of the secretary accord with that date. But Menedemos is placed on rather scanty evidence in 92-91. The new document, therefore, necessitates a change in the position of Menedemos and the assumption of another anterior archonship of Philon of which nothing is otherwise known. The inscription is now being studied by the epigraphical specialists of the staff.

According to the usual interpretation of the description of the itinerary of Pausanias the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods should be located in the vicinity of this area of the excavations. Topographical significance, therefore, is attached to the discovery

here of several roof-tiles with dedications to that goddess. Figure 9 shows part of one of the tiles with the inscription partially preserved. By the combination of other fragmentary tiles the entire inscription is found to read: **ΙΕΡΑΝ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ** (cp. *I.G.*, III, 206).

Besides the tiles, marble statuettes of the goddess in relief were also found. In one case she is seated on a throne in a small shrine and has a lion by her side, while another example represents her as holding a tiny lion on her lap. These reliefs are illustrated in a later article in this Number dealing with the sculptural discoveries of the year. We know that the cult statue of the sanctuary was made by Phidias or his

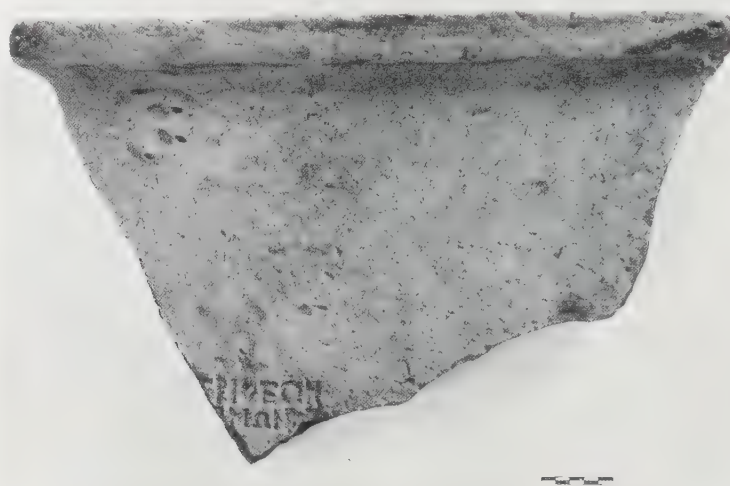


Fig. 9. Roof-tile with Dedication to the Mother of the Gods

pupil Agorakritos and that the goddess was represented as seated with a cymbal in her hand and with a lion beneath the chair. Although some foundations of substantial buildings were uncovered on the west side of this area it was not possible to make any definite topographical identifications prior to the extension of the excavations to the block adjoining on the west.

SECTION THETA

The third block of the current excavations, Section Theta, lies directly east of Zeta, on the opposite side of Eponymon Street. The extension of the great drain from Zeta passes through this area in a wide curve and leaves it on the south side. For part of its course it is in a state of perfect preservation with its walls of heavy blocks, its stone floor, and its roof of large marble slabs. Here, as in the other sectors, two periods of construction are in evidence, the earlier of polygonal blocks, clearly seen in part of the

course that was afterwards abandoned, and the later of ashlar masonry. At the south end of the drain, where it reaches the limit of the current excavations, a water source was tapped from which flows a small but steady stream, that caused much inconvenience to the progress of the work. With the clearance of the entire channel at the close of the season this water was directed in its natural course through the drain to empty into the main city pipe at the north edge of the American zone.



Fig. 10. Foundations of South Stoa

The principal discovery of topographical interest in this area is the foundation of a large rectangular building which extends east and west through the entire sector for a distance of 53 m. Since the building passes beyond the excavated zone at both the east and the west sides its complete dimensions will not be available until the adjoining areas will have been cleared. The north and south walls are powerfully constructed of four courses of large blocks of conglomerate, with a row of bases for columns set in a parallel line half way between them (Fig. 10). The archaeological evidence, such as pottery, lamps, and coins, found in the trenches cut for the setting of the walls, proves

that the foundations date from the Hellenistic period, perhaps the second century B.C. The foundations are later than the water channel that passes through them because the construction of the wall at that point is adjusted to the necessity of leaving the course of the channel unimpeded. The size and shape of this building suggest its interpretation as a large stoa that may have bordered the Agora on its south side.

On the west side of the area the walls of a small building were partially cleared. The investigation of them has not been completed because on the south they pass beneath the modern house that serves as an office for the Director of Excavations and could



Fig. 11. Room with Triangular Base

not be conveniently removed at the present time. Also, on the west they extend beneath Eponymon Street. The threshold and side walls of the main room are preserved in place, as appears in the photograph shown in Figure 11. In the centre of this room a triangular base was standing in place with one of its sides facing the doorway. The base, made of Pentelic marble, has slightly concave sides, each of which is decorated with a standing figure in relief. The figures will be described in the article on Sculpture.

Two marble stelae were lying near the southeast corner of the room, and the decrees inscribed on them were completely preserved. One of these important documents is a decree honoring the philosopher Prytanis, voted in the year of the archon Ergochares, 226/5, and the other is a prytany decree of the year of the archon Demeas. The former, which presents peculiarly difficult chronological problems, will be published by Professor Meritt in a forthcoming number of *Hesperia*.

The clearance of several wells in this area brought to light objects of varied date and character. One well, which contained a uniform deposit dating from the second and the early part of the third century after Christ, was lined with superimposed series of large curved terracotta tiles. The shaft extended to a depth of 11.50 metres. Between the seven and nine-metre levels forty-five inscribed lead tablets, plus some fragments, were found in association with many coarse pots, lamps, and terracotta figurines. The tablets, with two exceptions, are tightly rolled and folded as may be observed in the case of the group selected for illustration in Figure 12. The two fragmentary tablets, which were found in an unfolded state, are closely covered with writing in cursive script of the second century after Christ. They belong to the familiar group of curse tablets, *tabellae defixionum*, and contain curses in the names of strange deities, Sabaoth, etc., such as are associated with the Gnostic religion (see the collection of such tablets published by Wünsch in *I.G.*, III, 3, Appendix). Similar tablets were discovered in the sanctuary of Demeter at Knidos and in shrines of other underworld deities, but they are usually found in wells. The practice seems to have been to invoke the curses of the gods on one's enemies, listing them carefully by name, then to fold the tablet so securely that only the gods could know the contents, and finally to cast it into a well. In addition to the improbability of the object being fished out of the well, the water may have been considered to have had some magical significance. Or a deep well may have been regarded as an appropriate receptacle of something destined for the underworld.

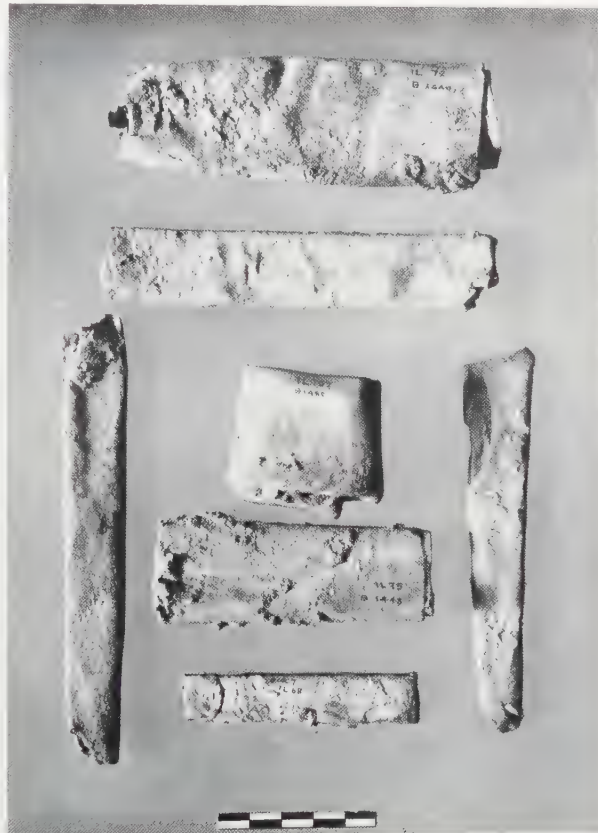


Fig. 12. Lead Curse Tablets

Only one other object from this area will be illustrated here. This is a black-figured scene of the combat between Herakles and the Amazons that is painted in bright colors on a panel within a meander border (Fig. 13). The piece is slightly curved and evidently formed one of the legs of the support for a vase such as a brazier or a pyxis. It is chipped at the top and is broken on the left side but the shape precludes any considerable

extension of the scene to the left. Herakles is represented in battle with four Amazons. He is advancing to the right with a spear poised in his upraised right hand. The shaft of the spear is rippled but since the weapon is held in the hand this rippling can hardly be intended as the conventional representation of the quivering of a shaft in flight (Cp. *J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, p. 349). Herakles is wrapped in a large lion's skin that is spotted with purple dots. In front of him one Amazon is prostrate on the ground, dying from the effect of wounds



Fig. 13. Combat of Herakles and Amazons on Black-figured Panel

from which blood is pouring, a second is engaged in combat with him, and two others are coming to the rescue with their spears raised. All have large round shields painted purple with a border of white dots about the rim. The white color used for the flesh of the women is partly preserved. They wear crested helmets and short chitons, in three cases purple and in one black, decorated along the lower border. The prostrate figure and the foremost contestant also have black breast-plates. The latter, who occupies the centre of the panel, is represented with the shield on the right arm and with the spear in the left hand in order that the figure may be fully revealed. Taken as a whole this is a vigorous scene, well executed and brilliantly painted, that presents this combat in an unusual form.

SECTION IOTA

The fourth area of the current excavations is situated on the extreme eastern edge of the American zone, just south of the stoa of Attalos. This area was selected for investigation because of the promising depth of soil, because of the fair degree of



Fig. 14. Section Iota from Northeast

preservation of the walls at the south end of the stoa, and because of the desirability of making a trial at some distance from the main field of excavation. The important results achieved confirmed the wisdom of the selection.

A view of this area during the excavation, as seen from the northeast, is shown in Figure 14. On the extreme right of the picture is visible the south end of the wall of the stoa of Attalos, and on its left is the chapel of Saint Spiridon standing within the wooden fence that bounds the area. The chapel is a small building of unpretentious appearance but its interior walls are covered in part by a series of late Byzantine

frescoes which will be discussed by Miss Alison Frantz in a separate article in this Number of *Hesperia*.

The excavation of this area was conducted under the supervision of A. W. Parsons and his notes furnish the basis for the account here given. A street passed from north to south through this part of the Agora and its course was probably continued on the east side of the Areopagus to the entrance of the Acropolis. Just south of the stoa of



Fig. 15. Marble Pilasters and Threshold

Attalos a cross street leads in an easterly direction to the Roman market. This street lies at a higher level than the stretch in front of the stoa and is reached by a flight of steps. It passes between the marble pilasters of a huge portal (Fig. 15). Along the side of the street is a drainage gutter and at the west end of the south side it is faced by the stepped façade of a small building. The threshold of the portal is a single marble block of great size which has appropriate cuttings for swinging gates. One of the curved stones of the vaulted arch of the portal was found in the vicinity. A small water-pipe was introduced into the south pilaster on its south side and had an outlet

in the middle of the west face, where the discoloration of the marble indicates the original presence of a decorative bronze spout, such as a lion's head. Although this portal is later in date than the stoa of Attalos its exact period has not yet been determined. It certainly belongs to the Roman age when it was one of the main routes between the Greek and the Roman markets.

The most conspicuous monument that was uncovered in this sector is a great wall which extends in a general north and south direction throughout the area. This wall is



Fig. 16. Columns used in Filling of Wall

constructed of two faces made of heavy re-used marble blocks with a space between them of a width of 2.25 metres. Not only are the faces constructed of the massive blocks from earlier buildings but the intermediate space is jammed with architectural members, including cornice blocks, drums of columns, and at least one perfectly preserved Doric capital. Some of these are visible in Figure 16, a view of the southern part of the wall. Besides the drums which have been thrown into the filling in disorderly array, others have been carefully built into the side of the wall, as is well illustrated in Figure 17. The drums are marked with letters of the alphabet from Alpha to Epsilon indicating that the building to which they belonged was taken down and reset before the final

disposition of the blocks as building material for the wall. Since the series of units does not exceed four it seems probable that the original structure had only four columns. One of the columns has been drawn by Charles Spector (Fig. 18). It has not yet been possible to identify the building to which these columns belong.

The variety of style and type of the re-used architectural members proves that they are from more than one building and inscribed dedications suggest possible sources for them. One inscription on an architrave block bears the name of the archon Herodes, son of Eukles, in whose term of office the building from which the block came was



Fig. 17. Drums of Columns and Marble Blocks in Wall

constructed. This archonship is probably to be dated in the middle of the first century A.D., according to Oliver who has published the inscription in this Volume of *Hesperia*, p. 59.

Another inscription is cut on a large lintel block, 2.62 m. long, from the doorway of a previously unrecorded building. The stone is built into the east side of the wall just below the southwest corner of the Byzantine chapel. It is shown in the position in which it was found in Figure 19. The block is edged with a series of neatly carved mouldings within which is a dedication in four lines with handsome letters. The dedication reads as follows:

To Athena Polias and to the Emperor Caesar Augustus Nerva Trajan Germanicus and to the city of the Athenians, the priest of the wise Muses, T. Flavius Pantainos, son of Flavius Menandros Diadochos, with his children Flavius Menandros and Flavia

Secundilla, has dedicated from his own means the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books and all the decorations in the building.

Since Trajan is here called Germanicus but not Dacicus, a title granted in 102, the date of the inscription must be close to 100 A.D. The reference is evidently to a pretentious

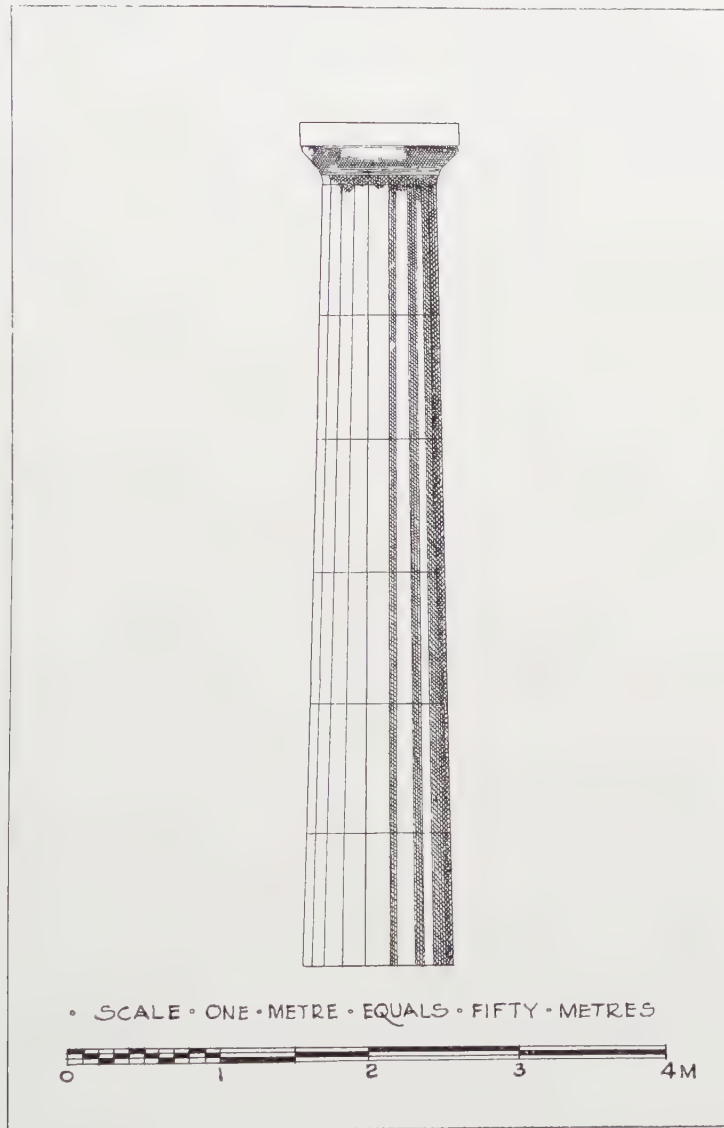


Fig. 18. Reconstructed Column from Drums and Capital in Wall

building but nothing is otherwise known about this library. The dedicator was certainly a wealthy and influential man, and since the name is an uncommon one he is probably identical with the Pantainos who was archon shortly after 102 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 2017;

cp. P. Graindor, *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous l'Empire*, p. 109). It is surprising that a library dedicated to Trajan should have existed in such close proximity to the Library of Hadrian. Its discovery is of importance both from the historical and from the topographical points of view, and is an instructive reminder of the many gaps that must exist in our list of the monuments of the Agora, compiled from the references recorded in ancient writings.

Figure 20 gives a view of the wall from the south with the Byzantine chapel on the east side and the stoa of Attalos extending in the distance to the north. A section of



Fig. 19. Dedicatory Inscription of Library

the wall in front of the stoa was demolished when that building was excavated but definite evidence for its date has never been secured, so that it has been assigned to periods as diverse as those of Valerian, 253–260 A.D., of Justinian, 527–565, and of the Venetian, Antonio Acciajoli, 1402–1435. During the present investigation the most minute care has been devoted to the clearance of the terrain immediately adjoining the walls, and to the examination of the cut in the bedrock in which the foundations of the walls were set. The result has been the acquisition of ample evidence for approximate date based on construction, on stratification, and on the many objects, such as coins, lamps, and potsherds, which were obtained. The latest coin found in the footing-trench is one of Probus, 276–282, and one of the lamps bears the signature of the maker Preimos, who was active in Athens in the first half of the third century. The date of the wall,



Fig. 20. View of the Wall and the Stoa of Attalos as seen from the South

thus fixed in the latter part of the third century, is not far from the reign of Valerian. Already in the fourth century, beginning in the time of Constantius II, 323–361, layers of débris had begun to be piled up against the lower courses of the wall on the side adjoining the street. It is planned to conduct further investigations about the wall, at the conclusion of which the subject will be fully discussed in a special article by Mr. Parsons.

Two towers were uncovered in the area, one at the north end and the other at the south; the latter appears in Figure 21 with the paved street of the Roman period beside it.



Fig. 21. Corner of the South Tower of the Wall

Since these towers abut on the west side of the wall it is clear that it was built to protect the limited part of the city lying to the east. Not only were architectural blocks used in their construction but pieces of sculpture were also employed for the same purpose, as they were in the wall of Themistokles many centuries earlier. A marble base with the relief decoration of a quadriga was taken from a wall of the north tower, and a statue of a woman was found imbedded in the south tower. Both these sculptures will be discussed in a later article.

This sector, like the other areas of the Agora, contains many wells, cisterns, and systems of water-pipes of sundry types and of different periods. One of the most

interesting conduits, and the one which happens, also, to be the best preserved, is illustrated in Figure 22. This system consists of terracotta sections that are fastened together with double interlocking joints in which no trace of cement or lead has been



Fig. 22. Water-pipe of Sixth Century B.C.

observed. A sectional plan of the pipe made by Mr. de Jong (Fig. 23) shows the skilful manner in which the joints were constructed. Each section has an irregularly shaped opening in the top which is filled by a stopper removable for convenience in cleaning the interior. This pipe has been uncovered for a length of about twenty-one metres, extending from the great wall to the east edge of the area. It is laid in a narrow

channel that is cut in the bedrock. All the potsherds from the earth in this channel date from the sixth century B.C., and nothing later than that period was found there. It is, therefore, certain that the pipe was laid at that time, and apparently the trough was not opened at any later time for the purpose of cleaning the interiors of the sections. This deduction is confirmed by the tight fit of the stoppers which show no traces of ever having been pried open. The size of the pipe, the care in its construction, the close-fitting joints, and the provision for cleaning indicate that this was a conduit for

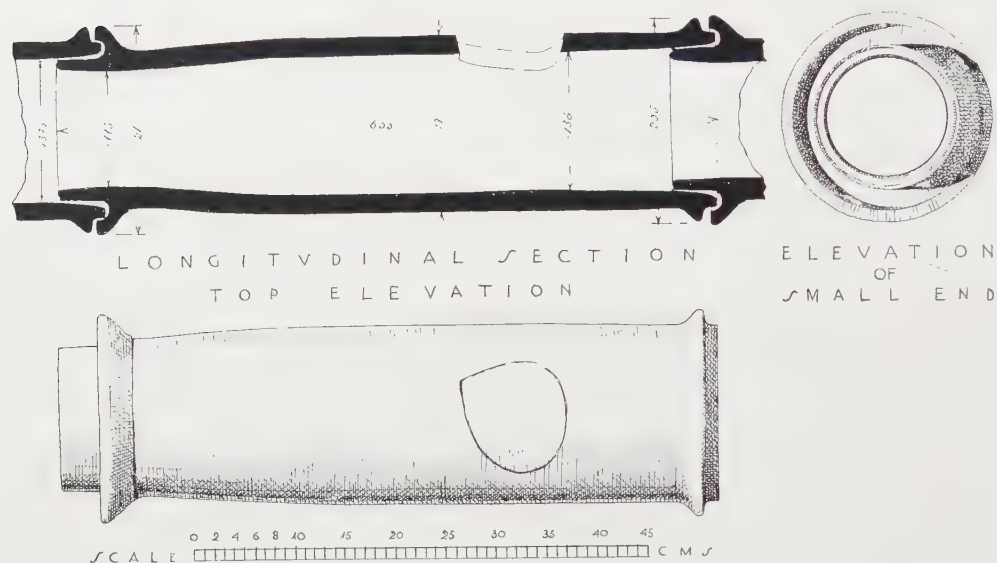


Fig. 23. Sectional Plan of Water-pipe

fresh drinking water. At a later stage of the excavations, when a larger area of the Agora shall have been cleared, it may be possible to trace this pipe to its source, and it may prove to be part of the same conduit to which belong the sections of pipe of very similar construction that were found in the excavation of Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos at the base of the Pnyx and are dated in the time of Peisistratos (see Fr. Gräber in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXX, 1905, pp. 24-25, figs. 7-8).

One of the wells which were cleared in Section Iota has particular interest because it yielded much pottery that falls in a restricted period of time between the middle and the end of the fifth century B.C. Although the shaft extended down to a depth of eleven metres most of the pottery was lying between the three and seven-metre levels. The objects from this well are published by Miss Talcott in a later article in this Number.

In the southwestern corner of this same area a rectangular pit, with walls solidly built of large stone blocks, was packed with masses of coarse Roman pottery. The floor, that was reached at a depth of 2.25 metres, was paved with eight marble roof-tiles (Fig. 24), of which two are intact and the others, though broken, are completely preserved. They vary somewhat in size but the dimensions of one of the complete pieces are 0.77 m. by 0.69 m. They are thus somewhat smaller than the marble tiles of the temple of Artemis at Sardis (0.856 m. by 0.72 m. See H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, II, p. 52) and very much smaller than those of the temple at Bassae (cp. Anderson-Spiers-Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 115). They presumably belonged to one of the buildings from which came other fine architectural pieces lying in the neighborhood. Besides the Roman pottery the contents of the pit included lamps and bronze coins of the Athenian Imperial type that are dated in the latter part of the second and in the early part of the third century A.D.

The purpose of this pit is not clear but since water now runs into it and remains there to a depth of about 0.60 m. it may have formed part of the early drain of this district and later may have served as a reservoir in connection with the adjacent water system.

Among the objects in the pit was the terracotta mask shown in Figure 25. This mask is sufficiently large to fit the human face. It has openings for the eyes and mouth, and breathing holes for the nostrils, and small holes at the top and on the sides by which it can be fastened to the head. It is possible, therefore, that it was intended for actual use by actors in the plays. But it is a heavy object and would be extremely inconvenient to wear on the face, so that it may have served merely a dedicatory purpose. In appearance it conforms to the type of comic mask with distorted mouth and exaggerated eyebrows that is described by ancient writers (see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, IV, p. 411).



Fig. 24. Marble Roof-tiles on the Floor of a Pit

The objects in the various archaeological groups, found during the season, are large in number and high in interest and quality. The specimens of pottery represent a long period extending from the prehistoric age down to Byzantine and Turkish times. In the field of epigraphy the new pieces include many types of documents and cover a range of a thousand years, from the sixth century B.C. to the fourth A.D. A particularly

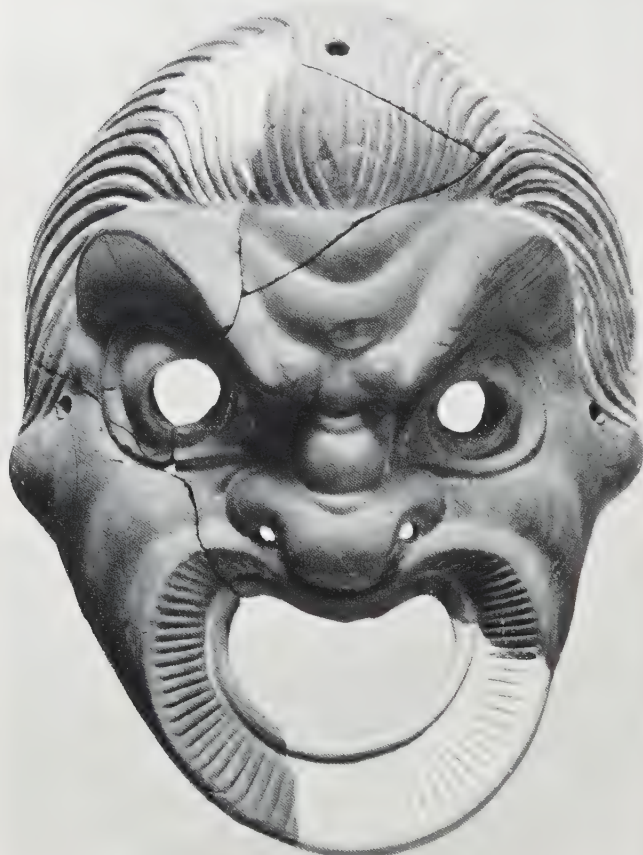


Fig. 25. Terracotta Mask

important group of the discoveries of the present campaign consists of decrees of the third and second centuries B.C. which, besides furnishing other valuable historical information, have necessitated some thirty additions and corrections to the list of Athenian archons as it had been previously constituted. These inscriptions are being studied and currently published by Professor Meritt and his assistants. The Agora excavations have more than fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of the Greek epigraphists, and the new documents will greatly supplement the Corpus of Attic Inscriptions and will provide material for a large addition to the Prosopographia Attica.

A vast number of coins, fifteen thousand, was secured during the campaign, and these added to the nine thousand previously found make a present grand total of twenty-four thousand in the Agora collection. In order to handle this material it has been

necessary to enlarge the coin department of the staff and to add to the cleaning apparatus. The difficult and important work of cleaning, identifying, and cataloguing these coins has been entirely in charge of Mrs. Josephine P. Shear. The efficiency with which this department is functioning may be judged by the statistics on the coins found in Section Iota. From this area 2,483 coins were secured, of which 2,159, or about 87%, have been identified and catalogued. 218 disintegrated in the cleaning process and only 106, 4% of the total number, were illegible. This is a remarkable record in view

of the badly corroded condition in which the coins come out of the damp earth of the Agora.

The two largest groups of coins, as in the previous campaigns, are those of Athens and the Imperial Roman coins of the fourth century A.D. But in the vast aggregate there are also representative pieces from many foreign cities situated in all parts of the Mediterranean world, as was to be expected in view of the widespread commercial relations of the city.

An interesting problem is presented by a group of silver-plated bronze coins, consisting of nine specimens found near together. It is possible that these were coins of necessity issued when the city lacked bullion because it was shut off from access to the silver mines at Laurium. Such a crisis occurred during the Peloponnesian war in the archonship of Kallias, 406/5 B.C., when the Spartans had possession of the mines. The style of the new coins, however, is later than that date. The head of Athena is more advanced in style, the eye is much more in profile, the owl on the reverse is less carefully finished and the crescent moon is lower on its back. These coins may have been issued during some other financial and political crisis of the city during the fourth century, or they may be simply skilful ancient forgeries. They should be dated on the evidence of style between 365 and 339, and probably nearer to the later than to the earlier year.

The usual host of minor objects has accumulated in the course of the season, and in the case of some groups the collections have attained a large size and considerable importance. This is especially true of the lamps and the terracottas. The total number of Greek and Roman lamps catalogued by the end of the year was 1173, and they represent a wide range of type and date. The collection of figurative terracotta objects includes many moulds from which the figures were cast; clear evidence that factories for the production of terracottas existed in the neighborhood.

Thus in brief review the major results achieved in the past campaign have been presented. The year has been rich in artistic and historical discoveries of which the full import will be appreciated only after long and intensive study.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1934

PLATE III

The fourth season of excavation in the American Zone of the Athenian Agora was begun on January 22, 1934 and was continued until May 12. In the autumn of 1933 forty-five modern houses, that were located in the blocks designated for excavation, had been demolished and removed, and during the season of excavation 18,000 tons of earth were taken from the area. By the end of the fourth campaign six of the sixteen acres of the American Zone had been cleared after the demolition of 127 modern houses and the removal of 60,000 tons of earth and stones. The result is an impressive picture of the ancient city with the remains of its temples and porticoes emerging in the midst of a busy modern metropolis.

The business administration of the excavations has progressed smoothly under the able direction of Mr. A. Adossides. This branch of the organization is chiefly occupied with the purchase and expropriation of private land and houses. Condemnation proceedings are always vexatious, and constant tact and patience are necessary if serious difficulties are to be avoided. But the expropriation of many houses during the past four years has established a method of procedure and a scale of prices that greatly facilitate the normal functioning of the legal machinery. The Governmental authorities have been cordially coöperative throughout the year. Especially grateful acknowledgment for their interest and support is due to His Excellency Prime Minister Tsaldaris, to His Excellency the Minister of Education, Mr. Makropoulos, and to Professor G. P. Oikonomos, Director of the Department of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education.

Few changes have been made in the scientific staff since it is a wise policy to maintain continuity of method and procedure. As a result of this policy the elder members of the staff have become experts in various branches of the work and have already attained a recognized status in the archaeological field. Professor Richard Stillwell, supervising architect, has been so fully occupied with his duties as Director of the American School and as Supervisor of the excavations of the School at Corinth that he has had little time to give to the Agora and most of the architectural work of the season has been performed by the assistant architect, Charles Spector. All the Fellows who had charge of areas of excavation in 1933 have continued in the same branch of the work. They are: Homer A. Thompson, Miss Dorothy Burr (now Mrs. H. A. Thompson), Eugene Vanderpool, James H. Oliver, and Arthur W. Parsons. One new Fellow was added in this department,

Rodney Young, who has thus been trained in the science of excavation under the eyes of veterans. Professor Benjamin D. Meritt has continued in general charge of epigraphical monuments with James H. Oliver of the staff and Sterling Dow, Fellow in the American School, as his competent assistants. Mrs. Shear was assisted in the coin department by Miss Gladys Baker and Miss Catharine Bunnell. Miss Alison Frantz was a newcomer to help Miss Lucy Talcott in handling the records, and Miss Dorothy Traquair of the American School and Mrs. Sterling Dow served as assistants in the same department. Under Miss Talcott's efficient direction the catalogue department is a model of its kind. Not only is the system of enumerations and storage admirable, by which any one of the thirteen thousand objects catalogued can be immediately produced, but the cards also contain data, such as identification, description, and chronology, that will greatly facilitate the ultimate study and publication of the material. Piet de Jong has continued his valuable services as artist making each of his paintings of ancient vases a veritable work of art. The professional photographic work has been as satisfactorily performed as in past years by Hermann Wagner, photographer of the German Archaeological Institute, and Mrs. Joan Bush, serving for a second year on a voluntary basis, has acquired special skill in using Leica cameras for making the vast number of small photographs required for the records.

A natural result of the specialized study of the scholars of the staff is the preparation for publication of the new discoveries. These are published in special "Agora Numbers" of *Hesperia*, of which six have already appeared. The prompt publication of this important and often unique new material is rendering a valuable service to the science of archaeology.

The corps of laborers, numbering some 200, was directed by the same group of foremen as in the preceding year. Sophokles Lekkas, veteran of many campaigns of excavation was head foreman and his four assistants were Deleas of Delphi, Gambouranes of Corinth, Alexopoulos of Mycenae and Pagones of Athens. Bakoules, the expert technician, was in charge of the mending and sorting of marbles and pottery.

The excavations of the present season were conducted in five blocks on the west side of the American Zone. A view, from the northeast, of the excavated area on the west as it appeared at the close of the season is given in Figure 1. The blocks, which adjoin areas cleared in previous campaigns, are indicated by the Greek letters Beta (Β), Gamma (Γ), Kappa (Κ), Lambda (Λ), and Mu (Μ) on the city plan of the American Zone published above on p. 312, fig. 1.

The present season has produced important topographical results. For many years the topography of the Agora has been a much debated problem among archaeologists. In 1896 the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Dr. Dörpfeld uncovered a small building of the shape of a temple below the "Theseum." Its identification by Dörpfeld as the Stoa Basileios was not generally accepted because of its shape and its small size. Some ten years later, in 1907, the Greek Archaeological Society extended the same area of excavation and disclosed foundations of buildings which could not be identified. In the meanwhile scholars have been working on the problem on the basis



Fig. 1. The Excavated Area on the West Side

of descriptions and references contained in ancient writings and have drawn up various hypothetical plans of the topography of the area. Such was the status of the problem when the American excavations began in 1931. Nothing was definitely known; all theories were conjectural.

The itinerary of Pausanias and casual references by other Greek authors to buildings in the Agora and to events associated with them, have provided the only available clues to the identity of the buildings which have been uncovered during the excavations of the past three years. On the basis of such uncertain evidence tentative identifications of the buildings excavated have been announced in the earlier reports of the excavations. But it must always be borne in mind that reports of current excavations are of a provisional nature and are subject to modification in the light of new discoveries. And it must be clearly emphasized that up to the beginning of the present season no building in the Agora, with the exception of the late stoa of Attalos on the east side, had been identified with certainty. This situation has now been entirely altered as the result of this year's discoveries, and the definite identification of two famous buildings has clarified the topography of the whole western area. From the point of view of Athenian history this is the most important result that has so far been achieved by the current excavations. The buildings that have long been sought have now in part been found. Many other important monuments still remain buried but more and more clearly as the excavated area is enlarged will the plan of the city be revealed with its streets and houses, its temples and porticoes. The account of the excavations that follows will deal in a preliminary way with the buildings which have now been identified and with the discoveries associated with them. A detailed study of the topography of the west side of the area is being prepared for prompt publication by Dr. Thompson.

THE THOLOS

Section Beta was designated for excavation this year in the regular course of the progress of the excavations. It lies west of Section Zeta, which was cleared in 1933, and south of the old excavations of the Greeks and Germans. The appearance of the block before the demolition of the modern houses is shown in Figure 2. It was hoped that its excavation might throw light on the nature of the ancient foundations adjoining it on the north and east, but it could hardly have been suspected that the humble courtyard of the northernmost house overlay the key building of the Agora. There was, therefore, much rejoicing when workmen under the direction of Mr. Vanderpool reached classical level and uncovered a piece of the curved wall of a circular structure, for it was immediately recognized that this was the Tholos and that a definitely identified landmark of the Agora had at last been discovered. It is located on the west side of the area, just below the south end of the rocky slope on which stands the "Theseum," as is clearly indicated in Figure 3. This was a most unexpected position in which to find



Fig. 2. Houses in Section Beta before Demolition



Fig. 3. Tholos from the Southeast

the building since on the earlier hypothetical plans it had been placed much farther to the southeast. Figure 4 gives a view of the building from the northwest showing its relation to the Areopagus and to the Acropolis.

The Tholos, as we know from descriptions in ancient literature, was a round building with a stone roof. It is also called *Skias* by the lexicographers and in inscriptions of the second century B.C. This word, meaning anything that gives shade such as a sunshade



Fig. 4. Tholos from the Northwest

or an umbrella, was presumably applied to the building because of its conical roof. The structural history of the building has been deduced from the evidence provided by the excavations. It has a diameter of eighteen metres. On its east side, facing the main street of the Agora, is a portico made of heavy blocks of conglomerate. The lower parts of three interior columns have been disclosed, but the location of other columns has not been determined since the shafts were cut down and are covered by the existing floor. This floor is made of cement in which were set thin marble slabs, many of which are still preserved. It belongs to the Roman period and possibly to the time of Hadrian. Just below the cement an earlier floor is constructed of a kind of mosaic of small irregularly shaped pieces of marble. This may belong to an earlier

Roman building, or perhaps to the period in which the portico was erected, the Hellenistic age and probably about the middle of the second century B.C. The circuit wall of curved poros blocks dates from the fifth century B.C. and is the remaining part of the building in which Socrates appeared before the Thirty Tyrants (Plato, *Apology*, 32 C-D).



Fig. 5. Official Attic Dry Measure

It is stated by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 43) that the fifty prytanes of the council dined in the Tholos at public expense. Demosthenes (XIX, 190) says that they sacrificed together, dined together and made libations together, but it cannot be inferred from this statement that the three acts were performed in one place. No trace of an altar was discovered in the foundations of the building, but just behind it on the southwest a stairway cut in the rock leads up to a small stone platform which would have served admirably for the site of the altar.

The Tholos was the civic centre of the city and in it were deposited the standard weights and measures under the guard of a public slave (*I.G.*, II², 1013₃₉). It was, therefore, particularly interesting to find some official weights and measures near the building. One of the dry measures, which has been put together from a number of pieces, is now in a practically complete state, Figure 5. It is a round terracotta vessel covered with a fine reddish slip and with the lip painted with a good black glaze. Since the vessel has no handle the bottom is cut in a low arch for a little space on either side so as to provide room for the fingers to facilitate the raising of the measure when it was filled. The official character of the measure is indicated by the word



Fig. 6. Standard Weights

$\Delta\text{HMO}\Sigma\text{ION}$ painted in large black letters about the bowl and by the seal of the city of Athens that is stamped upon it. This seal is identical with the emblems that appear as Athenian coin types. On one side of the bowl is the helmeted head of Athena and on the other side is the double-bodied owl with a sprig of olive and the letters $\text{A}\Theta\text{E}$. This type of coin is dated in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., and the context in which the measure was found and the shapes of the letters on it confirm this date for it. The inside dimensions of the bowl are 12.75 cm., depth, and 13.9 cm., diameter, giving a capacity of 1933.80 cuem., which is equivalent to nearly two dry quarts. It is probable that this vessel is the Attic choinix but certainty of identification is not possible since the capacity of the choinix is variously stated in ancient records.

Three of the weights are illustrated in Figure 6. The largest is a lead piece, measuring about 5.5 cm. square, that is stamped with a dolphin and with the letters MNA . This is evidently a one mina weight but it weighs 710 grammes and the weight of the Solonian mina has been reckoned at 420 to 440 grammes, with the heavy unit about

twice that amount. The two smaller weights approximately conform to the Solonian standard, the bronze piece with the incised owl weighing 69.9 grammes and the small lead with a crescent or cornucopiae? weighing 74 grammes, which would be about one-sixth of a mina. The problems connected with the Athenian weights and measures are far from being satisfactorily solved and it is hoped that additional light on the subject may be furnished by the evidence that is being accumulated from the discoveries made in the current excavations.

Behind the Tholos, on the west, a retaining wall had been built against the living rock of the sloping cliff. The wall is, for the most part, constructed of re-used blocks



Fig. 7. Inscribed Stele in Wall

of stone set in hard cement. The type of construction and the sherds found in it indicate a date for the wall in the early Roman period. Nothing came from it that need necessarily be later than the first century B.C. It seems, therefore, probable that this wall was built in connection with reparation and reconstruction after the sack of the city by Sulla in 86 B.C. Besides blocks of stone, pieces of sculpture and of inscriptions were also used in the construction, two of which are especially important. A statue of Aphrodite, which will be discussed in a later article, was carefully cemented in place in line with the face of the wall. The date of its fabrication into the wall proves it to be an original work of the Greek period. An inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, which is shown in Figure 7 in the position in which it was found, is dated at about the middle of the fourth century B.C. by the names of archons it contains. This document, which will be subsequently published by Professor Meritt, mentions the process of Hypereides against Philokrates, the condemnation of the latter and the confiscation of his property. It also lists other property that was apparently offered for sale to satisfy arrears of interest on loans and mortgages.

THE BOULEUTERION

The definite identification of the Tholos must serve as the starting point for the study of the neighboring buildings. Pausanias (I, 5, 1) mentions the Tholos next after the Bouleuterion and the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods. Other ancient writers imply



Fig. 8. Bouleuterion from Southwest

that the Bouleuterion and Metroön were in one and the same precinct. This is directly stated in the late account of the legend of the foundation of the Metroön. By way of penance for the maltreatment of a priest of the goddess the Athenians built a Bouleuterion and dedicated it to the Mother of the Gods.

A further indication that these two buildings were so close to each other as to be regarded almost as a unit is derived from an incident reported in connection with the death of the orator Lysurgus. When on his death-bed he asked to be carried to the Metroön and Bouleuterion in order that there he might give an accounting of his services to the state.

The excavations have uncovered two buildings the location of which satisfies the requirements here specified. Just north of the Tholos and separated from it only by a passageway are the foundations of two buildings, one directly in front of the other, which may easily be interpreted as lying in one precinct. Figure 8 gives a view from the southwest which shows the relationship of these buildings to one another and to the Tholos on the south.

The building on the west is a large rectangular hall, for the construction of which space was made by cutting away the cliff. A stone bench extends along the sides of the hall and in front of its central point are the remains of a bema. It is estimated by the architects of the staff that the hall could provide seating space for seven hundred persons. This hall may be quite safely identified as the Council House of the Five Hundred mentioned by Pausanias, because of its proximity to the Tholos, because of its close association with another building in front of it, and because of its size and shape with the bema for the speaker referred to by Antiphon (VI, 40) and with the benches for the prytanes mentioned by Lysias (XIII, 37). There would also have been ample space for the increased membership of the council when that body was enlarged by the addition of new tribes.

THE METROÖN

Just east of the Bouleuterion and at a slightly lower level is a large building which may now be identified as the Metroön, the temple of the Mother of the Gods. It is constructed with a colonnade that faces the ancient street towards the east, and it is divided into four rooms of which the largest is at the north end. The foundations as seen from the west appear in Figure 9.

The site of the Metroön was used as a sanctuary from very early times as is proved by the remains which graphically illustrate the various vicissitudes of its history. A brief account will be given of the successive chronological periods based on Dr. Thompson's investigation of the building, the results of which he will himself subsequently publish in a study of the topography of the area.

Although the earliest remains on the site overlying bedrock belong to the geometric age the first building period is represented by polygonal walls dated on the evidence of sherds in the early part of the sixth century B.C. Later in that century dates a curved wall on the east side which partly overlies the earlier wall. The entire outline of the structure of the third period, dating in the late part of the sixth century, can be traced. Its south foundation lies beneath the south wall of the succeeding period and its east foundation underlies the west edge of the foundations for the colonnade of the later building. The fourth period represents a complete reconstruction of the building and to this period the greater part of the visible remains belongs. This building consists of a colonnade behind which are four rooms; its maximum width, east to west, is 27.75 m. and the length of the colonnade is 39.90 m. Evidence for the date of this period is

provided by pottery, and by methods and materials of construction which are similar to those used on the Stoa of Attalos and point to a corresponding date, about the middle of the second century B.C. A complete re-arrangement of the large north room occurred in the Roman age, perhaps the time of Hadrian, and the building was entirely destroyed at the end of the fourth century. Such is the main outline of the structural history of



Fig. 9. Metroön from West

the building, and the long tradition of the occupancy of the site is an indication of its sacred character.

The evidence for the identification of this building as the Metroön may be briefly summarized. Its proximity to the Tholos and its general location agree with the description of Pausanias and of other ancient writers. Several roof-tiles were found on the site which are inscribed with a dedication to the Mother of the Gods; one of these was illustrated in the report of the Campaign of 1933 (see above p. 322, fig. 9). In the neighborhood were discovered marble statuettes of various sizes representing the Mother of the Gods (see below pp. 400, 401, figs. 26, 27). And finally many fragments of

inscriptions were lying about the site in one of which the Metroön is mentioned. The shape of the building with its division into four rooms is explained by the fact that the Metroön was used as a filing office for the archives of the state. It seems quite evident that the large room at the north end was the temple proper and that the other rooms served as halls of records containing the marble slabs on which were recorded laws, treaties and decrees (Demosthenes, XIX, 129; Athenaeus V, 214 e; IX, 407 c).



Fig. 10. Temple of Apollo Patroös from East

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO PATROÖS

Just north of the Metroön is a passageway leading west to the cliff whence there may have been an ascent to the temple of Hephaestus, the so-called Theseum, that stands on the summit of the hill. A small temple immediately adjoins the passage on the north. Figure 10 shows, on the extreme left, the north end of the Metroön and in the centre the foundations of the temple with the passage between the buildings. The location of the temple exactly corresponds with the designation by Pausanias of the site of the temple of Apollo Patroös.

This building was uncovered by the German excavations of 1896 and has been called by Professor Dörpfeld the Stoa Basileios and has been dated in the sixth century. But the shape of the building is obviously that of a small temple, and the sherds from



Fig. 11. Room with Basin north of Apollo Temple

beneath its foundations belong to the fourth century. No evidence has been secured for the existence of an earlier building on the site and because of this fact and also because its portico is built over a statue base, it is probable that this was an open precinct in early times. When it was planned to erect a temple in the fourth century its size was restricted by the adjoining building on the north and by the passage on the south.

Evidence in support of the identification of this temple as that of Apollo is furnished by a colossal statue of Apollo that was found by the Greeks in 1907 and is now in the National Museum. According to Professor Oikonomos this statue was found in front of the building, and because of its great size and weight it seems unlikely that it could have wandered far from its original location. The style of the figure and the care and beauty of its workmanship have led to its interpretation as the cult statue that was made by Euphranor (Keramopoulos, *Arch. Delt.*, 1929, p. 95, n. 1; Kourouniotes, *ibid.*, 1916, *Parart.*, p. 80).

A small room containing a curiously shaped water basin abuts on the north wall of the temple and the method by which its wall is linked with the temple proves that it antedates that building. The basin (Fig. 11), which went out of use when the room was constructed, contained objects of the early fourth century. This fact confirms the dating of the temple in the later part of that century.

THE STOA OF ZEUS ELEUTHERIOS

The next building on the north extends from a point a little north of the Apollo temple to the line of the Athens-Peiraeus railway which is the northern border of the American Zone. The foundations were cut when the railway was constructed but the north end of the building has not yet been found although a trial pit was sunk in search of it in Poseidon Street on the farther side of the railway. This building, of which a view from the northwest is given in Figure 12, was excavated in 1931 and a description of it with a ground plan was published by Richard Stillwell in the First Agora Report in *Hesperia*, II, pp. 110 ff., pl. V. This building was called by me at that time the Stoa Basileios as its location seemed to accord with that assigned to that stoa by Pausanias, but the topographical evidence produced by the work of the current season seems definitely to identify this building as the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Further investigation has confirmed the conclusions previously reached that it should be dated near the end of the fifth century B.C.

The buildings on the west side of the Agora are now satisfactorily identified in accord with the account of the itinerary of Pausanias, but the first building in the Agora mentioned by him, the Stoa Basileios, is missing from the picture and a puzzling question arises as to its location. It does not seem probable that the names Zeus Stoa and Royal Stoa refer to one and the same building since we have nearly contemporaneous references in literature to the two as quite distinct. The Stoa Basileios is mentioned as lying beside another stoa by Aristophanes in the *Ekklesiazousai* (686), a play produced either in 392 or in 389 B.C. The stoa of Zeus Eleutherios is mentioned by Xenophon in the *Oikonomikos* (VII, 1), and in the pseudo-Platonic *Theages* (121 a), both dated in the first half of the fourth century. The only alternative solution is to assume that the Royal Stoa lies farther to the north beyond the railway line, and there it may have had

an east to west orientation. In fact, another discovery of the season proves that other important monuments were located in this more northern area. But the land there, besides being outside the American Zone, is near one of the more important modern streets so that expropriation and excavation would be an expensive undertaking. However, it is essential that in due time the Agora area should be connected by excavation with the site of the German excavations in the Kerameikos, and thus would be disclosed the main entrance of the city through the Dipylon gate to the Market Place.



Fig. 12. Stoa of Zeus from Northwest

THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS

Another important topographical discovery of the year was the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Thucydides (VI, 54, 6) states that this altar was dedicated in the Agora by Peisistratos, son of Hippias, and that subsequently the Athenians enlarged it in such a way as to render invisible its inscribed dedication. In clearing the north end of Section Eta, which had in large part been excavated in 1933, the corner of a building

that was evidently of early date appeared in the midst of a complex of Byzantine and Roman walls. The identification of the building was established by an inscription on a statue-base standing in its original position in front of the west wall. Figure 13 shows the southwest corner of the building with the statue-base in front. The corner lies close



Fig. 13. Southwest Corner of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods

to the modern wall bounding the Athens-Peiraeus railway, which appears on the left edge of the picture.

The base is a block of Pentelic marble, 0.785 m. long, in the top surface of which are cuttings for the feet of a bronze statue which stood with the right foot slightly advanced (Fig. 14). Along a smooth band across the top of the front is carved the dedicatory inscription: Leagros, son of Glaukon, dedicated it to the Twelve Gods. The letters are handsomely cut in the style of the early fifth century and the dedicator is unquestionably the Leagros who in his youth was a favorite at the symposia and who later, as a general of the Athenians, met his death on an expedition to Thrace in 464 B.C.

Although the greater part of the building was covered by the railway it was essential in view of its importance to seek to secure any structural details that may have been spared in the construction of the roadbed. The officials of the railway company courteously permitted excavation between the tracks to be carried on for a period of two weeks (Fig. 15) with the result that valuable information was obtained. The southeast corner of the building was found in the first pit that was dug, and the other corners were fixed by additional pits sunk in the roadbed. The remaining foundations give evidence for



Fig. 14. Base with Dedication by Leagros

two building periods, the first dating in the sixth century and the second dating not later than the fifth. The dimensions of the two structures differ slightly since the earlier measures 9.90 by 9.25 m. and the later 9.70 by 9.05 m. It is clear from the existing remains that this monument was a peribolos or enclosure that was surrounded by a parapet with an entrance on the west side. Within the enclosure and probably against the east wall facing the west would have stood the altar itself on which the sacrifices were offered. In 1877 a round marble altar was found near the church of St. Philip which is situated north of the railroad and nearly opposite the newly discovered peribolos. This altar, which is now in the National Museum, was decorated with the figures of the Twelve Gods in relief, eight being still preserved (see *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, pp. 337 ff.). Because of this fact and because of the place of its discovery it seems quite safe to conclude that the altar originally stood in the peribolos.

The altar of the Twelve Gods was a place of asylum where stranger suppliants took their post while awaiting a welcome by the city (Herodotus, VI, 108). Therefore the natural location for such an altar would be close to a gate of the city and undoubtedly in early times such was its position. Judeich, in fact, hypothetically places a gate at just this spot in his plan of the early wall of the city. With the growth of the city to the north the site of the altar being a very sacred one could not be changed and consequently it lies well within the circuit of the Themistoklean wall. The altar stood at the junction of main intersecting roads and was used as a starting point for measuring



Fig. 15. Digging in the Roadbed of the Athens-Peiraeus Railroad

distances from the city (Herodotus, II, 7). And it can hardly be a coincidence that the Stoa of Zeus, which is located directly opposite it across the ancient street, was decorated with a painting of the Twelve Gods by Euphranor (Pausanias, I, 3, 3).

SECTION GAMMA

Although the most important topographical discoveries were made on the north and the northwest sides of the excavations interesting results were also achieved in the other areas. In Section Gamma, which lies south of Beta, the course of the ancient street was uncovered. This is the fork that branches to the southwest and after leaving the Agora passes between the Areopagus and the Pnyx and thence winds to the entrance of

the Acropolis. As was the case with its northern stretch the street overlies a large water-channel built of polygonal masonry, but beside the main channel there are also supplementary channels constructed of large terracotta pipes that date from the Hellenistic period. Figure 16 illustrates the triple system of conduits, the relation of which to the street may be judged from the square mass of earth in the centre of the picture which



Fig. 16. Water-channels beneath the Street in Section Gamma

has been left at the height of the level of the street, and the top of which is, in fact, the hard packed surface of the street.

Many objects were found in the earth packing about the terracotta pipes, and since the space to be filled was large numerous complete amphorae were used for the purpose. On the west side of the area, in places where the hard-pan had not been cut for foundations of buildings, several burials of the Geometric period were uncovered of which one was in undisturbed condition. This grave and its contents are illustrated below in Figures 20 and 21. Its location is marked by an arrow on the picture (Fig. 16). The area also contained cisterns and wells, the clearance of which was a long, tedious

task, which in the case of the wells was for the most part unprofitable. But one large cistern yielded a large quantity of Hellenistic pottery of the second century B.C., which was published by Thompson in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392 ff., pl. III.

SECTION KAPPA

Section Kappa is a block that was clearly designated for excavation since it was bounded on three sides by the excavated areas Theta, Delta and Stigma. Besides the houses in the block there was also a small chapel that was dedicated to the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos. The chapel was evidently modern and its interior walls were covered with undecorated stucco. It was necessary to remove the building in order that excavation might be conducted beneath it, but a careful investigation of its walls before the demolition revealed painted frescoes beneath the outer coat of stucco in places on the south wall. This chapel and its paintings are discussed by Miss Frantz in a later article in this Number.

The clearance of this area led to two important topographical discoveries. One is the west end of the great stoa, part of which had been uncovered in 1933 in Section Theta, and the other is a large fountain house situated in the southwest corner of the block. The excavation of the latter building cannot be completed before the removal of the modern street on the west, but as far as it has been cleared it is shown on the plan in Plate III. The building is square with a portico on the north and west sides facing the ancient street. It has two inner corridors with drainage basins at the base of the partition walls in which the waterspouts must have been built. A steady flow of water comes from a source on the south side. In type of construction the foundations seem to belong to the fifth century B.C.

The discovery of a large fountain-house with flowing water at this spot raises the question of the possibility of its interpretation as the famous fountain Enneacrunus. Further investigation of the remains must be made before a discussion of this problem will be profitable but it may be pointed out that the location admirably suits the description of Pausanias. He places the fountain near the Odeion, a building that he mentions immediately after his reference to the statues of the Tyrannicides which, as we are definitely informed, stood opposite the Metroön. Here, at least, is an important fountain with flowing water situated in the Agora on a site that better accords with ancient references to the Enneacrunus than does that uncovered by Dörpfeld on the slope of the Pnyx.

SECTION LAMBDA

Section Lambda is a large block adjoining Theta on the east. Excavation here was seriously hampered by a large quantity of water that came in a steady flow from a source in the southeast corner. In spite of the adoption of various methods of drainage

it was not considered advisable to dig much below the Roman level because of the risk of overlooking in the mud necessary evidence for stratifications. With the eventual clearance of the area to the south it will be possible to divert the water through an adequate drain.

The presence of the stream of water here undoubtedly accounts for the construction of a large bath in the late Roman period. This appears in the centre of the picture



Fig. 17. The Roman Bath in Section Lambda

shown in Figure 17, which also includes part of Section Theta on the west and Section Mu on the north. The foundations of the bath are well preserved, with the exedras, basins, and extensive hypocaust. Adjoining the bath on the east is a large square room of the same period as the bath which was probably the palaestra. The evidence so far available indicates a date for the bath in the late fourth century A.D.

The bath was built directly above the foundations of the Hellenistic stoa which is an extension of the building that was partly uncovered in 1933 in Theta. The west end of the stoa lies beneath Eponymon Street with the northwest corner in Zeta and the southwest

in Kappa. It then extends in an easterly direction through the entire width of Theta and up to the eastern limit of Lambda, giving a length of 105 m. as far as it has been carried to date. In next season the excavation of the block on the east should reveal its complete length. The evidence provided by objects found in the trenches for the foundations indicates that the building was constructed in the second century B.C. It is thus contemporaneous with the Stoa of Attalos and formed the southern boundary of the Agora of the Pergamene period of which the eastern border was the Stoa of Attalos. The relative positions of the two buildings are clearly marked on the plan in Plate III.



Fig. 18. Corner of Roman Building in Section Mu

SECTION MU

Section Mu is a small area north of Lambda in which was uncovered part of a building of the Roman period (Fig. 18) of which the shape, size, and significance should be revealed by the excavations to the north in the next campaign. Work in this area was also greatly hindered by the water that seeped down from Lambda. Several wells

AGORA EXCAVATION

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS



Plan of the Buildings in the American Zone as they Appeared in April 1935

of the early Geometric period were cleared that yielded much characteristic pottery. The wells were quite uniform in type being cut in the hard-pan to a depth of about four metres; the filling was a deposit of heavy clay.

THE AREOPAGUS

In the season of 1932 a deposit of votive objects of early date was found in Sector Stigma at the base of the north slope of the Areopagus, and was subsequently published by Miss Burr (now Mrs. Thompson) in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542-640. The place of this discovery inspired the conjecture that possibly some of the objects may have been originally dedicated in the shrine of the Eumenides on the Areopagus. The shrine is traditionally located in a cave in the rock of the northeastern part of the hill at about the point shown in Figure 19. The huge mass of rock on the left has been broken away from the cliff in comparatively recent times.

An investigation in search of the shrine was conducted for a short time near the end of the season, but nothing of significance was secured from the cave and no trace of the hypothetical shrine was anywhere found. However, an important inscription that was discovered in a trench on the north slope of the hill may refer to the Furies. The inscription is a decree of the *orgeones* recording the sacrifice of a pig to the "Heroines" on certain days of the month Hekatombaion, the month in which the festival of the Erinyes was celebrated on the Areopagus. If the "Heroines" be interpreted as the Erinyes, then the "Hero" of the inscription would be Hesychos, the Quiet One, the ancestral hero of the family of the Hesychids who conducted the worship of the Furies.



Fig. 19. Site of Cave on the Areopagus

A little west of the cleft in the rock lie the ruins of the early church of Dionysios the Areopagite, named in honor of the man who was numbered among the earliest Athenian converts of Saint Paul. Many Byzantine and Roman burials were uncovered in the area but nothing was found that gave a clue to the location of the shrine that was sought. It is planned to continue the investigation in this vicinity during the next campaign.

POTTERY

The harvest in the field of pottery was as abundant as usual, and again this year the major part of the more important discoveries was secured from wells and cisterns.



Fig. 20. Grave of the Geometric Period

The terrain of the Agora is honeycombed with wells which were necessary because of the long dry summers and the small supply of water. On the frequent occasions when the city was captured and destroyed by its foes existing wells, in many instances, were filled with debris and abandoned, and new wells were subsequently dug. It thus often happens that the contents of a well are rich and varied and can be dated within a limited period of time.

Vases have also been found in graves but since burials were not made within the walls of the city in the classical age the graves that have been found in the Agora date from the early time when this area lay without the walls. In a grave of this kind were probably originally deposited two protogeometric vases that were found just above the bedrock.



Fig. 21. Vases from the Geometric Grave

A typical grave of the middle geometric period, ninth to eighth century B.C., was uncovered on the west side of Section Gamma and its contents proved to be intact. The grave was cut out of bedrock and was lined with small stones; the body lay extended approximately from north to south with the head at the south end of the grave, Figure 20. The arms are lying along the sides of the body and the legs are stretched out. At the bottom of the grave a large one-handled pitcher was placed sidewise across the feet. Just in front of the pitcher is its cover, and beyond are a one-handled cup and a two-handled bowl, and farther on one side a small aryballos. These vases, which are shown in Figure 21, have uncommon shapes and interesting decorative motives. The Agora collection of pottery is growing rich in geometric ware because of the repeated discovery of these early deposits.

A fundamental change in the attitude of the Greeks towards decorative design began in the seventh century under oriental inspiration acquired as the result of the expansion of trade relations between the Greek cities and the east. This



Fig. 22. Jug of Attic Orientalizing Style



Fig. 23. Attic Rhyton

change is characterized by the elaboration of ornaments, by the free use of human and animal figures, and by the introduction of animals of fantastic type. A good example of Attic orientalizing style of the early sixth century is the one-handed jug illustrated in Figure 22. The decoration of the vase consists of two large cocks which are facing each other over a conventionalized palmette-lotus design; rosettes are scattered over the field. The color effect is especially pleasing as the decorations are painted in reddish-orange on a buff background.

A vase of unique type, Figure 23, was found in Section Gamma lying on hard-pan in association with potsherds of the sixth century B.C. The shape is a hollow cylinder curved up like a crescent, and the surface is covered with good black glaze. It has

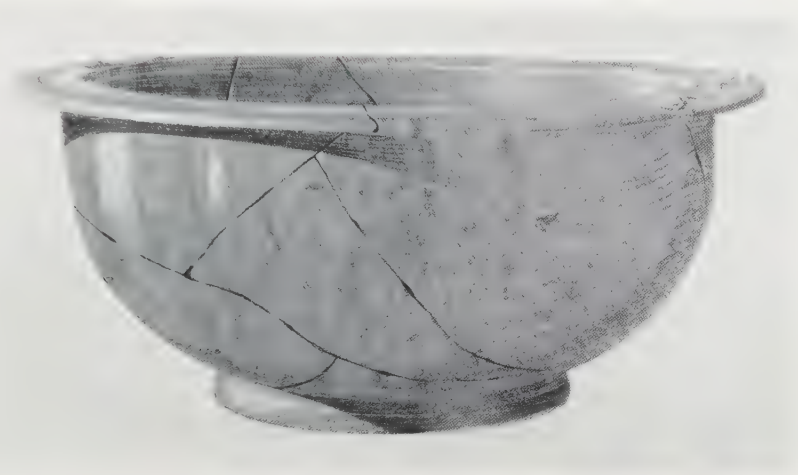


Fig. 24. Arretine Bowl

four squat legs on which it stands and it terminates at one end in the head of a woman with bulging eyes of archaic style. The woman has her arms bent and is holding her hands up to her chin. A small hole is perforated through her mouth. At the other end the cylinder was left open so that liquid could be poured in.

There has been much discussion as to the purpose of this curious vase. If it was used as a drinking horn (rhyton) it would have been awkward to carry, only a tiny stream could be received from the hole in the mouth, and great care would have to be exercised to prevent the liquid content from spilling out the rear end. The suggestion has been made that it may have been used for pouring libations, but its comic character is unsuitable for ritual purposes. Another suggestion is that it was a toy. The most plausible interpretation in my opinion is that it was used as a drinking horn at more frivolous symposia to add to the merriment of the company. There is certainly a comic implication in the reference by Athenaeus to the shapes of rhyta, an elephant, and a trireme (XI, 497 *a-b*), and the Egyptian God Bes (XI, 497 *d*).

Later ceramic periods are well represented among the discoveries of the year, and the usual amount of pottery of the Roman period was secured. In the latter group mention should be made of several Arretine bowls that were found in a well-shaft on the slope of the Theseum hill. Some of the complete bowls are genuinely Arretine while others associated with them are locally made imitations of the Arretine. The bowl shown in Figure 24 is an Arretine piece that bears the name CAMURI stamped within a footprint on the inside of the base. It should be dated at about the end of the Augustan period. The discovery of Arretine ware was particularly welcome since it fills a gap in the series of vases in the Agora collection which now extends with few interruptions from prehistoric times to the Byzantine age.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Many objects found in the course of the season belong to groups which have been discussed in previous reports and need little further comment at present. Thus the collection of Greek and Roman lamps has been enriched by the addition of 377 examples to make a grand total of 1552. The more complete such a collection the greater is its value, but among the new discoveries no piece has special interest or outstanding importance.

Coins keep pouring in with customary regularity and with 7600 additions for the year the total has now reached 31,600. Athens was noted for her system of coinage and at certain times her coins were current throughout the world. She was also for many centuries an important commercial centre to which came foreign traders from all parts of the Mediterranean basin. But even in her market place it is surprising to find such a vast number of pieces scattered over an area of six acres. The coins date from all periods beginning in the sixth century B.C. and extending down to modern times. They are historical documents in a small way and illustrate the changing fate of the city. Through them can be traced the passing of the independence of ancient Greece, the domination of the Romans, the arrival of the Vandals, the growth of the Byzantine empire, the presence of the Turks, and the rise of modern Greece. These coins can often be closely dated, and when this is the case they furnish valuable chronological evidence for the stratum in which they are found. They are, therefore, always gathered with the greatest care, cleaned patiently by the electrolytic method, exactly identified, and minutely recorded and catalogued.

Among the groups of smaller objects mention should be made of the ostraka that are found from time to time. An interesting series secured during the present season includes six votes cast against Themistokles (Fig. 25). Because of the early shapes of the letters and of the fact that an ostrakon of Aristides was found near them it is probable that they were cast in the voting that occurred in January 483 when Aristides received a majority of votes and was banished, rather than at the later date when Themistokles himself was ostracized. The inscriptions in five cases give the demotic of

Themistokles, Phrearios, and in one case his father's name, Neokles. Some curious variations of spelling occur. The interior theta appears in the name of Themistokles in all cases except one, but the voter who scratched that one was evidently far from sure of the name since he has spelled it with two sigmas, and has confused the termination, writing it thus: THEMISSTOKELS with the K and E in ligature. On the other votes the final syllable of the name is spelled indiscriminately either with one epsilon or with two, and one writer has introduced an aspirate after the second rho of the demotic:



Fig. 25. Ostraka of Themistokles

PHREARHIOS. The conclusion that may be drawn is that the literacy of the Athenian voter of this period was not high, or else that the orthography of proper names was not well established.

Many terracotta figurines were found during the year which added to those secured in the previous campaigns make a total of 627 now in the Agora collection. The most important piece is a fragment, measuring 0.044 by 0.04 m., with the archaic head of a youth in relief (Fig. 26). Although there is a slight curvature to the piece it seems to have been part of a plaque rather than of a vase. The head of the youth is represented in relief in full profile to the right. The archaic traits are typically characteristic, such as the hair arranged in wavy lines that terminate in knobs, the bulging eye shown as

if in front view, the moulded line of the eyebrow, and the suggestion of a smile about the lips. The head closely resembles that of one of the youths on the sculptured base in the National Museum that had been built into the Themistoklean wall, and it may be dated about 510 B.C., or a little earlier. The youth, whose head alone is preserved, formed part of a combat group for above his head appear the remains of the forepaws and claws of a lion by which he is being firmly held. From a similar plaque in the Acropolis Museum we know that the scene represented was the combat



Fig. 26. Head of Herakles on a Terracotta Plaque

between Herakles and the Nemean lion (S. Casson and D. Brooke, *Cat. Acropolis Museum*, II, p. 423, No. 1323; E. Reisch in *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 129, pl. III). The full scene on the new plaque must have been an archaic masterpiece, but it is, at least, a fortunate coincidence that the head was preserved in its entirety when the plaque was smashed, for in this archaic head one can appreciate the virility and the originality of the formative stage of Greek sculpture.

This concludes the general report of the more significant results achieved during the present season. Detailed studies of the various categories of objects will be subsequently presented in special articles. Great progress has been made with the work and the

results have been most gratifying, but much still remains to be done. The modern houses in four more blocks have been demolished in preparation of the terrain for the resumption of excavation in January 1935, when the fifth campaign should result in the clearance of the entire central part of the American Zone.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

THE SCULPTURE FOUND IN 1933

Plates IV and V

The campaign of 1933 was particularly productive in the field of sculpture yielding important marbles of both the Greek and the Roman periods. A series of the better preserved and more interesting pieces is selected for presentation in this preliminary report in continuation of the reports of the discoveries of sculpture in 1931 and 1932 published in Volume II of *Hesperia*.

A DRAPED FEMALE FIGURE

A life-sized marble statue of a woman was found in the great drain in Section Eta of the Excavations.¹ The figure is represented as standing on a base with the weight resting on the right leg and with the left knee slightly bent (Fig. 1). The head, which was made in a separate piece and was inset in a roughly picked socket, has disappeared, and both forearms are missing. The left arm was bent at the elbow, and the forearm, which had been attached by a dowel, was thrust forward in a horizontal position. The right arm is broken away at a point above the elbow but the remains of a dowel hole in the break suggest that this forearm may also have been extended. The left knee and the front of the leg below it have been broken.

The woman wears an Ionic chiton as an undergarment of which the sleeve fastenings are visible along the upper arms. The outer garment is the Doric peplos which is fastened by clasps on both shoulders. The overhanging fold of the peplos is bound by a belt about the waist, and on each side the material is pulled out over the belt. The garment extends down to the feet and its folds on the front and the sides are deeply cut, but on the back they are shallow. The arrangement of the drapery is simple and severe lending to the figure an aspect of dignity and poise.

In type the statue belongs to the group of peplos figures that were popular in the fifth century, perhaps because of the influence of the style of the Athena Parthenos. The copy of the Parthenos found at Pergamon (F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII, pl. VIII) should be compared for the arrangement of the folds of the apoptygma and

¹ Inv. No. 5962—S 339. Found on April 12, 1933 in Section Eta, 20/M. It lay face downward in the loose black filling of the trench above the water-channel. Pentelic marble. Height including base: 1.46 m.; ht. of base: 0.056 m.; greatest width at elbows: 0.51 m. It should be noted that the sections of excavation may be located by reference to the plan given in this Number of *Hesperia*, p. 312.



Fig. 1. Draped Female Figure

for the treatment of the lower part of the garment. On the right side the material hangs down in deeply cut folds while it is drawn tautly over the left leg. A comparison of the right side of the statue in the Agora (Fig. 2) with the corresponding side of the Per-



Fig. 2. Draped Statue. Right Side



Fig. 3. Draped Statue. Back

gamon figure (*op. cit.*, VII, text 1, p. 34, fig 24 *a*) also reveals similarities in the rendering of the folds. It is noted by Winter that the Pergamene statue is less carefully finished on the back than on the front, and this fact is also true of the new statue, on the back of which the folds are but sketchily indicated. A colossal statue of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens exhibits a similar arrangement of stiff folds on the lower part of the

garment and on the apophygy, with the left bent leg represented as if nude (S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, No. 1362, pp. 260–261). The lower part of the front of the garment of the Caryatids of the Erechtheion also shows such a contrast in



Fig. 4. Nike. Back

the arrangement of the right and left sides (Stevens and others, *The Erechtheum*, pl. XXXVIII). But our statue should be compared with the Caryatids especially in reference to the detail of the treatment of the back hair (Fig. 3) which hangs down in locks in a mass that is broadest at the bottom. A similar rendering of the back hair occurs on a Caryatid from Tralles (*Monuments Piot*, X, 1903, p. 17, fig. 6), and on several statuettes from the Agora such as the male torso and the Aphrodite shown later in this article and the Aphrodite published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 174, fig. 4.

The place of discovery furnishes no evidence for the date of the statue except that it was buried near the end of the fourth century A.D. when the water-channel was filled with débris. The technical execution is good though the socket for the insertion of the neck was left with the chisel marks unsmoothed. Traces of the rasp are visible on the folds of the drapery and the surface of the marble has not received the high polish characteristic of the Hadrianic epoch. It is probably to be regarded as a copy made in the Augustan age of a work of the fifth century B.C.

THE WINGED NIKE

Large and small pieces of two marble statues of a winged Nike were found lying in a mass of broken architectural and sculptural fragments in front of the south end of the stoa in Section Alpha of the excavations that is now identified as the Stoa of Zeus Eleu-



Statue of Winged Nike

therios. Parts of both heads as well as of the bodies were secured, and one head and one body are in a fair state of preservation. The partially preserved head made an actual join to the neck of the preserved statue and was, therefore, attached so that the figure now appears as it is shown in Plate IV.¹

The missing parts are the right arm below the shoulder, the left arm, the right leg from just above the knee, and the left leg from above the ankle. But the fragments that were secured include a left hand holding part of the garment, feet, and parts of wings of which one piece fits into the socket on the shoulder of the Nike. The statue was found buried in loose earth that contained some ashes and fragments of late Roman lamps. It had been built into the northwest corner of an ancient lime pit apparently near the end of the fourth century A.D. (see above, p. 317).

The Nike, which is standing on its original base, has the appearance of flying to the right, with the right arm raised aloft while the left hand, clasping the drapery, hung down by the side. The thin chiton is fastened on the right shoulder but it has slipped down from the left shoulder over the left upper arm. It is arranged with a long apophygyon that is bound by a double girdle around the waist. The material is pulled out over this girdle to form a kolpos which is itself fastened by a double ribbon passing just below the breasts. The presence of the two girdles justifies the introduction in a very natural way of a great variety and multiplicity of folds. The handling of the drapery in front is careful in all its details, and the frilling of the garment along the edges adds a charming and characteristic decorative note. The back is roughly finished (Fig. 4) and must be viewed



Fig. 5. Nike. Right Side

¹ Inv. No. 5067-S 312. Found on March 21, 1933 in Section Eta, 24/ΝΣΤ. Pentelic marble. Height including base: 1.29 m.; greatest width: 0.72 m.; ht. of base: 0.08-0.105 m.; width of base: 0.503 m.; ht. of cutting in back for socket of wings: 0.11 m.

with the addition of the large wings in mind, but even so it seems improbable that the statue was intended to be seen from behind. This Nike, whether she is about to soar or is ready to alight, gives a vivid impression of lightness and freedom and lack of restraint (Fig. 5).

The better preserved head of the second statue must be studied in connection with the first Nike. It is illustrated in Fig. 6.¹ The surface of the marble is considerably weathered but not to such an extent as to detract seriously from the beauty of the work which is delicately carved and admirably finished. The features are characterized by dignity and repose in conception and in execution. The lower part of the face closely resembles the preserved portion of the head of the other Nike. The hair, which is parted in the middle, is bound by a fillet that passes twice around the head. The eyelids are rather sharply cut and there is no overlapping at the outer ends. The shape of the eye is long and narrow, the lips are slightly parted and the cheeks incline to fulness.

The purpose served by these figures, the place of their erection, and the date when they were made are suggested by the circumstances of their discovery. The many pieces were lying together by the east front of the south wing of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. This fact, taken in conjunction with the type of the figures and with the weathering of the marble, makes it probable that the two similar statues were used as akroteria to crown the façade of that south wing. Such a position would account for the heavy type of double base of which the lower part was evidently set in a socket as it is unfinished on all sides. Moreover the bottom of the drapery is not wrought with the care and elaboration in evidence on the upper part, and in general the statue appears to best advantage when seen from below. The stoa has been dated in the latter part of the fifth century on the basis of its architectural elements such as type of mouldings, style of Doric column, and painted palmettes and scrolls on its inner cornice block (cp. R. Stillwell in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 124). This conclusion is confirmed by the potsherds in the filling beneath its floor which indicate that the building was begun before 431. Construction was undoubtedly suspended during the early years of the Peloponnesian war and the building was not completely finished until some time in the fourth century since its walls were decorated with paintings by Euphranor. There is only one period in the latter part of the fifth century when two statues of Victory could have been placed on the front of one of the most conspicuous buildings in the Agora, and that is the period between the Peace of Nikias in 421 and the Sicilian Expedition in 415. And the arguments used to fix the date of the sculpture of the parapet of the Wingless Victory apply with equal cogency to the Winged Victories of the Stoa of Zeus.²

¹ Inv. No. 7407—S 373. Found on June 5, 1933 in Section Eta, 28/ΞΔ, in loose filling about 0.20 m. above the north foundation of the south wing of the stoa. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.18 m.; width: 0.145 m.; distance from chin to roots of hair on centre of forehead: 0.133 m.; from right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.045 m.

² See R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 81.

With the probability of approximate date established, criteria are available for comparative study in contemporary Athenian sculpture. Naturally one turns first to the



Fig. 6. Head of Nike

Nikai of the Parapet, and it is at once evident that the closest parallels are with the works from the hand of Carpenter's "Master B." The ridges of the drapery are tubular in type and the spaces between them are often shallow and flat-bottomed. There is the fretting of the hem of the garment noted on Carpenter's No. 11 (*op. cit.*, p. 23), and the

girdle below the breasts is a flat ribbon as on his Nos. 15 (p. 25) and 10 (p. 31). On the lower left leg appear the tubular ridges of drapery arranged mostly as broken lines, as on his Nos. 10 and 11. The pockets in the drapery that are characteristic of "Master B" are especially noticeable in the folds of the kolpos. The sweep of the folds of the garment between the legs and out behind on the right side, as seen in Fig. 5, finds its counter-



Fig. 7. Fragments of the Wings of the Nike

part in the drapery of No. 11 of the Parapet and of the Nike of Paionios at Olympia (Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 34, pl. XIII). The style of treatment of the wing feathers, which is used by Carpenter as a check on his attributions to different masters, is a further point of contact between "Master B" and the Agora Nike, for the feathers of the latter (Fig. 7) more closely resemble the work of that master than the style of his coöperators.

The two remaining heads of the Parapet statues are in a sadly battered condition, but as far as comparison is possible they show resemblances to the new head in the arrangement of the hair, in the shape of the eye, in the sharply cut lids, and in the placid expression. And again the resemblance is to the head from the Vatican herm (Carpenter,

op. cit., p. 28, pl. X, 2) rather than to the Roman copy of the head of the Nike of Paionios in the Hertz collection in Rome.¹ Carpenter believes that his "Master B" is Paionios, and what could be more appropriate than that this special master of the Nike type, who made the Nike statue in Olympia and the akroteria of the temple of Zeus, should have made the Nikai akroteria for the great Stoa of Zeus in the Agora, the building where shields of victorious soldiers were dedicated, the building that was later to be embellished on the interior with paintings by Euphranor.

If one seeks other approximately contemporary sculpture in Athens there come to mind the figures of the frieze of the Erechtheion, which we know from the building accounts were being made in the years 409/8 and 408/7. The resemblances between this group and our statue are not particularly significant, but some similarities in the arrangement of the chiton may be noted on a Nike of the frieze (Museum No. 2825) that is shown by Fowler in the *Erechtheum*, pl. XL, 4 (text, pp. 247-248). On the Erechtheion figure the chiton has slipped down from the left shoulder, and pocket-like folds are formed where the garment is pulled over the girdle at the waist.

Great similarity exists between the head of the Agora Nike and a small head in the Berlin Museum (No. 1768) that is said to have been found on the Acropolis and that is ascribed to the frieze of the Erechtheion.² Marked resemblances are to be noted in the arrangement of the hair with the head encircled by a flat band, in the shape of the forehead, of the eyes, of the mouth and of the chin, in the fulness of the cheeks, and in the placid expressionless features. The Berlin head is slightly smaller in size than the two preserved heads of the Parapet but this difference may not be as great as it appears since the chins of both the Parapet heads are broken and only approximate measurements can be secured.³ Is it possible that this Berlin head should be assigned to the Parapet rather than to the Erechtheion? Characteristically similar traits common to the heads from the Parapet, the Berlin head, and the heads of the Agora statues inspire the hypothesis that they are by one and the same sculptor, and the similarities noted by Carpenter between his "Master B" and Paionios, and the points of resemblance between the Agora Nike and the Nike of Olympia designate as that sculptor Paionios or someone closely associated with him in time and style.

RELIEF OF AN APOBATES

A chariot group consisting of a quadriga with a charioteer and an armed companion is represented in low relief on the face of a marble base (Fig. 8).⁴ The base has been

¹ W. Amelung in *Röm. Mitt.*, IX, 1894, pp. 162-169, pl. VII.

² H. N. Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 276, and 273, fig. 175.

³ Berlin head, total height: 0.09 m.; chin to hair on brow: 0.065 m. Parapet head, No. 992, chin to crown: ca. 0.13 m.; chin to hair: ca. 0.09 m.

⁴ Inv. No. 8114-S 399. Found on June 28, 1933 in Section Iota, 10/AE, built into the original fill of the north tower of the great wall. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.49 m.; width: 0.949 m.; thickness: 0.49 m.

hacked away on top and at the back. Carelessly made cuttings extend from a central rectangular socket on top that was made to receive the votive object that stood on the base. The width of this cutting is 0.24 m. At the top of the block a moulding composed of a half round below a vertical fascia originally crowned all four sides, but the cyma recta moulding at the bottom was carved only on the front and back sides of the base. The surfaces at both ends were finished with anathyrosis, but the top mouldings at the ends must have projected over the upper surface of the adjacent blocks. An inscription on the vertical fascia at the top of the face of the block reads: Krates son of Heortios of Peiraeus (ΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΕΟΡΤΙΟ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΥΣ).



Fig. 8. Marble Base with Relief

The quadriga is not centred on the front panel but is being driven to the left with a blank space at the left of the field. This space was undoubtedly occupied by some painted object which may have had reference to the festival or to the place where the contest was held. Thus on a similar relief from Oropos a pillar, surmounted by an oblong tablet, is cut in very low relief in the left background (A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. XXVI). The charioteer, who is clothed in a long garment, stands in the car with both arms extended reining in the four galloping horses. He has turned his head to look at the nude warrior who has evidently just leaped on the chariot beside him. The head of the driver is thus shown in front view. The warrior has a helmet on his head and carries on his left arm a large shield, the weight of which pulls back the body as he tries to make his position in the car secure by grasping the front rim with his right hand. He has placed his right foot on the floor of the car but the left leg hangs down, with the foot dangling behind the wheel. Part of the rim of the four-spoked wheel overlaps the bottom moulding of the base, as does the hoof of one of the horses. The horses are spirited

animals with small heads, erect ears, hogged manes, and powerful bodies. They give an impression of vigor and action to a well executed group.

This base in size, material, and decoration closely resembles a base in the Acropolis Museum¹ that was published by M. Collignon in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, VII, 1883, pp. 458–462, pl. XVII. A similar scene is represented in each case and the only variations are the position of the charioteer, who is facing forward on the Acropolis relief, and the poses of the horses. Collignon correctly interprets the subject as a representation of the contest of the apobatai which formed part of the Panathenaic games. In this race it was necessary for the apobates to descend from the chariot and remount it while it was in full course, and the artist of the relief has selected for his theme the crucial moment when the man has leaped on the car and is striving to maintain and improve a rather precarious position. According to Collignon he assists himself to this end by pushing with his left foot against the inner axle of the wheel, for in this way Collignon explains the hanging left leg and the Greek description of the scene: *ἑμὰ θεόντων τῶν ἵππων ἀνέβαινον διὰ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν δίφρον*. Although the interpretation of the phrase *διὰ τοῦ τροχοῦ* in this connection is not clear Furtwängler properly objects to Collignon's explanation.²

The purpose of our base, like that on the Acropolis, was undoubtedly to support a monument dedicated by the victor of the apobatic race in the Panathenaia, and the name of the victor is given as Krates son of Heortios, a man who is not otherwise known. The style of the relief recalls the figures on the frieze of the Parthenon and, indeed, the heads of the horses can be so closely matched with horses' heads on the frieze as to compel the deduction that they were copied from it. The types of the letters of the inscription accord with the style of the relief to predicate a date for the sculpture in the fourth century B.C.

FRAGMENT OF AN ATTIC GRAVE RELIEF

The upper left corner of a grave monument contains the upper part of a male figure carved in relief on a sunken panel (Fig. 9).³ The top of the stone is rough-picked but the side is smoothly dressed; it is broken at the right side and at the bottom. A bearded man is represented who is looking to the right with his head in full profile, but his body appears nearly in front view. A cloak is draped over the left shoulder and after being carried across the front of the body at the waist is held by the left hand against the left side. The right arm is raised and the forearm is in almost vertical position. The surface of the forearm and of the hand is badly chipped so that the purpose of this gesture is not clear. No trace of a staff or spear is visible although the position of the raised arm

¹ Casson-Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, No. 1326, p. 227.

² *Op. cit.*, text to pl. XXVI, note 9.

³ Inv. No. 8112-S 398. Found on June 28, 1933 in Section Iota, 37/K, lying just above bedrock. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.15 m.; width: 0.155 m.; thickness: 0.083 m.

is similar to that of Athena on the relief crowning the stele with the treaty of 375 B.C. between Athens and Corcyra,¹ and a bronze spear may have been held by the man as it was by Athena. The head is of the round type, with curly hair and beard and with drooping



Fig. 9. Fragment of Grave Monument

mustache, that is common on sepulchral monuments of the fourth century. It is seen to advantage on the relief of Tynnias in the National Museum of Athens.²

MONUMENT OF ARISTOMENES

Another grave monument of later date is illustrated in Fig. 10.³ The block is broken at top and bottom, and is left in a roughly picked state on the sides and the back. The

¹ H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, p. 36, fig. 9.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 29.

³ Inv. No. 6137—S 342. Found on April 21, 1933 in Section Theta, 34/AT, used as a covering for a pithos. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.368 m.; width: 0.33 m.; thickness: 0.055 m.

figures in relief are set in a sunken panel that is bordered by a frame measuring 0.07 to 0.075 m. in width on the sides. At the bottom the frame projects in order to form a narrow platform on which the figures stand. A group of two persons, a man and a boy, is represented. On the right stands the man who is wearing a cloak that is thrown over



Fig. 10. Monument of Aristomenes

the left shoulder and is wrapped around the lower part of the body. He is holding in his right hand a strigil, and in his left hand is carrying an object that resembles a cloth bag such as were employed by athletes for holding their lunch, towels or other necessities. The same type of bag was also used as a purse.¹ A small boy by the man's right side holds a long palm branch over his left shoulder. He is advancing toward the spectator's left but has turned his head back so that he is looking up at the man.

¹ Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, s. v. *marsupium*, III, p. 1623, fig. 4852.



Fig. 11. Colossal Statue of the Pergamene Period

This is evidently the monument of a victorious athlete, and on the top edge of the stone above the relief the man's name is written, Aristomenes. The cross bar of the alpha is broken and the side strokes of the mu are curved. These shapes of the letters, together with the style of the figures and the technique of their execution, imply a Roman date for the relief. The name is common in Greek prosopography but it has not been possible to connect the figure on the relief with any man of this name mentioned in ancient records.

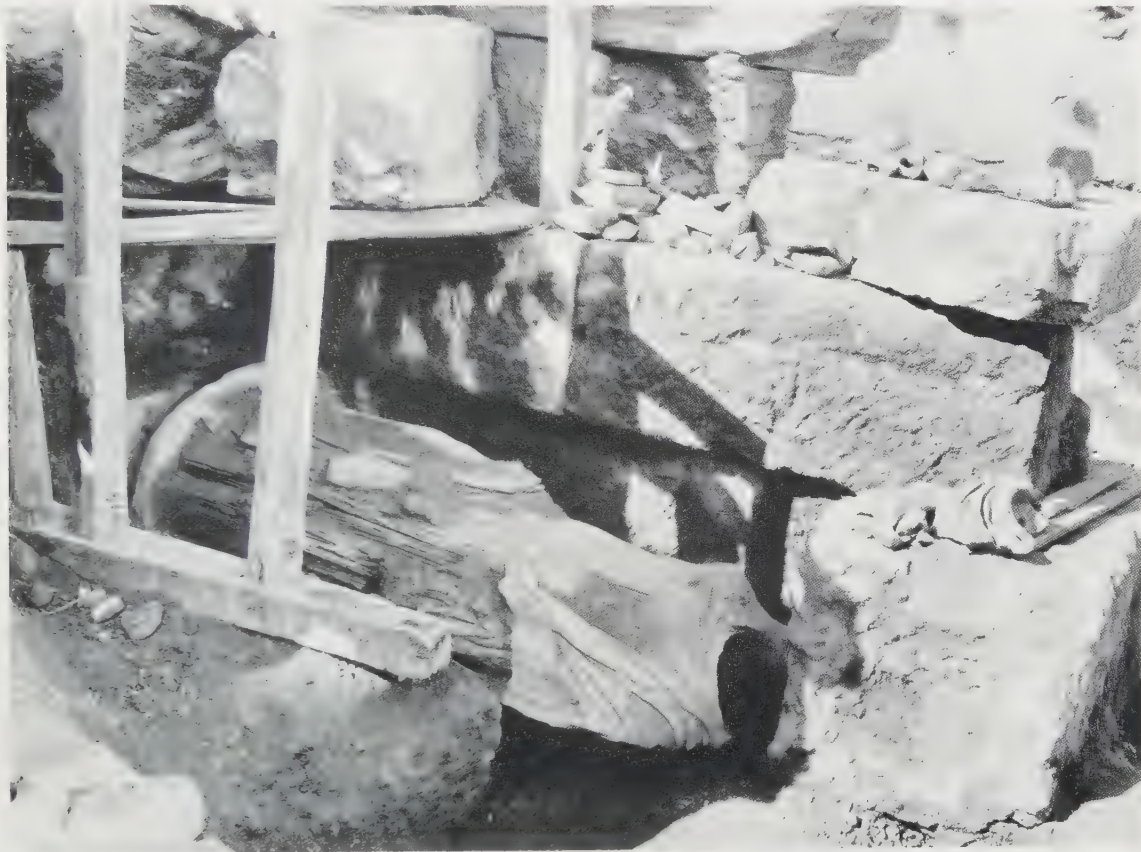


Fig. 12. Colossal Statue as found in the "Valerian" Wall

A COLOSSAL FIGURE OF A WOMAN

A colossal statue of a woman was found imbedded in a wall of the south tower of the so-called Valerian wall (Fig. 11).¹ The statue had been carefully placed in the wall to serve in lieu of two stretcher blocks, and small stones and fragments of marble had been

¹ Inv. No. 7495 S 378. Found on June 8, 1933 in Section Iota, 50/I. Pentelic marble. Height with base: 1.885 m.; ht. of figure: 1.79 m.; greatest width of figure and drapery: 0.70 m.; w. of base: 0.62 m.

packed about it. All had been well covered with cement to form a level bed to receive the next upper course of the stones of the wall. The statue is shown in Fig. 12 in its position in the wall after most of the surrounding packing material had been removed.



Fig. 13. Colossal Statue. Back



Fig. 14. Colossal Statue. Right Side

The cement with which the marble was coated was not very hard and after being softened by soaking in water was entirely cleared away without too great difficulty.

The statue is an impressive figure in spite of the lack of the head which had been inserted in the neck socket. The right arm which had been fastened by a dowel is also missing, as is the right foot. Part of the iron dowel used for attaching the right foot is

preserved and traces remain of the rust from the arm dowel. The woman is standing on an oval base with her weight borne by the left leg and with the right knee slightly bent. Her left hand with fingers outspread is placed on the hip in an unusual pose. She wears a chiton of thin material which is fastened by a girdle around the waist and hangs down in straight narrow folds separated by deeply cut furrows. A cloak, which is held by the left arm, passes around the back of the body (Fig. 13) and thence is carried in front across the right knee from which it falls in heavy graceful folds. A bit of the end of the material is charmingly gathered on the ground between the feet, which rest on thick-soled sandals. A view of the right side of the statue (Fig. 14) shows to advantage the delicacy and naturalism of the treatment of the folds of the garments. The technical execution of the work is excellent and even the back is fairly well finished.

The statue is similar in type and style to draped female figures of larger than life size found in Pergamon. Comparison should be made with the figure shown in the publication of the Pergamene sculpture, pl. XXIV,¹ that is dated by Horn probably not before the last decade of the second century.² Very similar are the treatment of the chiton with its cord-like girdle, and the naturalistic folds of the himation. In another related statue from Pergamon the folds of the cloak hang down between the legs with the ends resting on the plinth.³ The new statue, while of finer workmanship than those found at Pergamon, belongs to the same stylistic group. It was certainly made at Athens and probably by an Attic artist inspired by Pergamene models.

In the latter half of the second century Attalos II of Pergamon built the great stoa that bears his name on the east side of the Greek Agora. Since architectural blocks from this stoa were used in the construction of the wall it is possible that the statue came from the same place. We know that colossal statues of the Pergamene kings were erected on the south side of the Acropolis (see W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 258). Quite reasonably, therefore, a colossal female figure from the Stoa of Attalos, beautifully wrought in Pergamene style, may be interpreted as a statue of the wife of Attalos, Queen Stratonike.

THE TRIANGULAR BASE

On the west side of the area of excavation, just north of the Director's house, a triangular base was found standing in place in the centre of a small room of which the threshold and side walls are preserved.⁴ It is shown in the position in which it was found on p. 324, fig. 11 above. The sides of the base are slightly concave and each is decorated

¹ F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII, 1, text p. 107.

² R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik*, p. 84.

³ F. Winter, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, text p. 87. Cp. also the fragment from Pergamon, No. 75, text p. 105.

⁴ Inv. No. 7327-S 370. Found on June 1, 1933 in Section Theta, 15/KΔ. Pentelic marble. Height: 1.09 m.; width of face: 0.65-0.66 m.

with a standing figure in relief, but since the upper part of the stone is broken away the heads and necks of the figures are missing. There are cuttings on each of the three edges



Fig. 15. Neo-attic Relief. Dionysos

near the bottom, and traces of bronze on one of the edges, taken in connection with the type of the monument, indicate that this base served as a support for a bronze tripod.

The side of the base which faced the entrance to the room is occupied by a figure which is fully draped in a garment of thin material that reaches to the ankles (Fig. 15).

The large feet, thick ankles, and muscular legs mark this figure as that of a man. He is facing to the left and has advanced his right leg, the muscles of which are more pro-

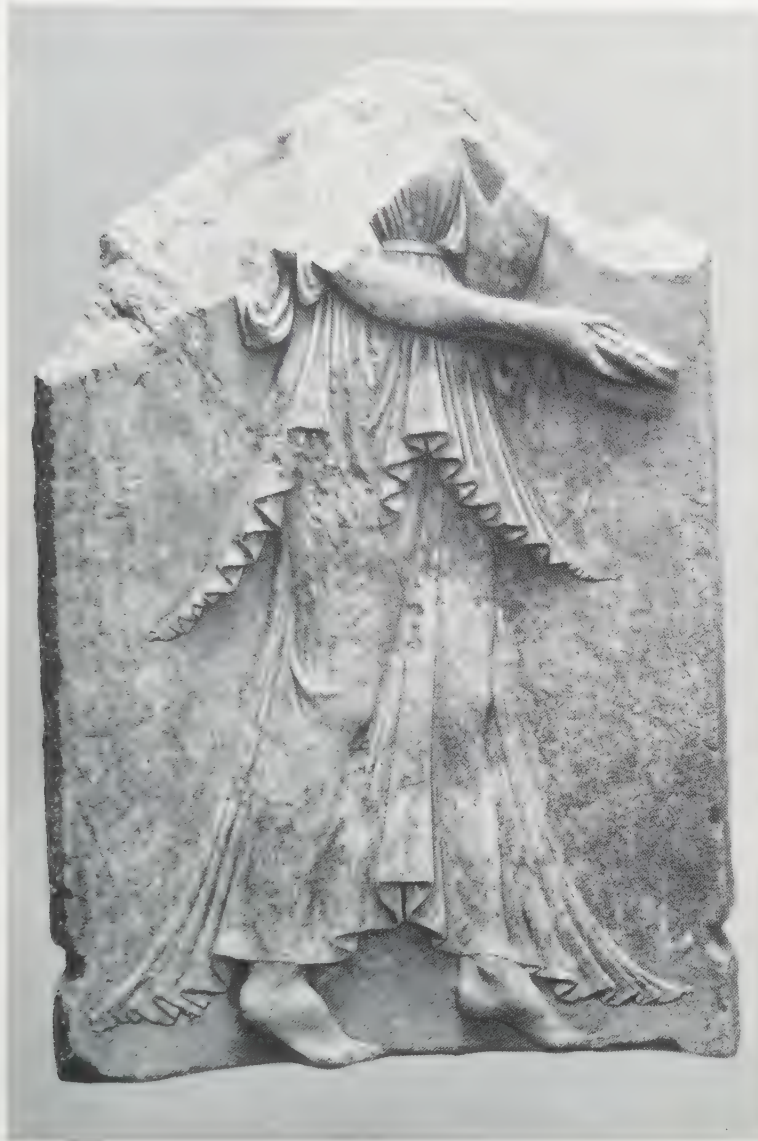


Fig. 16. Neo-attic Relief. Maenad

minently than accurately rendered. The right arm is evidently extended with the hand clasping a staff of which only the lower part is preserved on the stone. The left hand, which is pressed against the hip, and the arm are wrapped in the folds of the garment, of which the ends are gracefully arranged so as to fill some of the vacant space on the stone behind the man.

A female figure appears on the next panel on the right (Fig. 16). She is facing to the right and is standing on her toes in a dancing position. She wears a chiton with an overfold which is fastened by a belt passing around the body above the waist. The ends of the overfold and of the chiton at the bottom are charmingly disposed in long swallow-tail folds. The left elbow is bent with the forearm raised. The right arm is extended and in the hand is held a round object resembling a patera. The youthful figure is vibrant with lightness and grace.

The remaining third panel is decorated with the nude figure of a youth, who is facing to the right and is nonchalantly leaning on a club, the end of which is braced against a small heap of stones (Fig. 17). The chlamys, that may have been fastened around the neck or merely have been thrown over the shoulder, hangs down in front of him over the left arm and the club. His right hand is placed on the hip with fist closed and thumb extended upwards. Careful attention has been devoted to the delineation of the muscles, and with the exception of the calf of the left leg the modelling of the body in general is admirable.

Although no very distinctive attributes are preserved which permit a sure interpretation of these figures it is probable that the draped male figure on the front panel is Dionysos who is holding a thyrsus in his extended right hand. The dancing girl on the right, then, would appropriately be a maenad, whom she resembles in type. Bronze tripods were regularly dedicated to Dionysos by victors in the Dionysiac festivals at Athens, and the figure of the god would be most suitably used as a decoration of the base of such a tripod. In fact he so appears on a panel of a base of similar shape in the National Museum at Athens (No. 1463. J. N. Svoronos, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἑθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, text, pp. 155 ff., pl. XXIX. Cp. F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, pp. 68 ff.). The youthful companion of the maenad and Dionysos of the base is identified by his muscular body and by the characteristic club as the hero, so frequently associated with Dionysos, Herakles. These figures with their archaistic traits, affected attitudes, muscular exaggeration, and stylized drapery are excellent examples of the Neo-attic school of sculpture that flourished in the Hellenistic period. This monument was later, in the Roman period, placed in the centre of a room where it was cemented in the floor to a depth reaching just above the ankles of the figures. The room was destroyed at the end of the fourth century A.D.

In style the monument belongs to a familiar group of Neo-attic reliefs and the figures on it quite commonly reappear in the repertory of Neo-attic characters. The draped male figure finds a close parallel in a figure on a base in the Acropolis Museum (No. 610).¹ This figure has been variously interpreted as Dionysos (Dickins, *loc. cit.*; J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*⁴, I, p. 249; Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1876, p. 299), or as Zeus (Hauser and Schmidt), or as Poseidon (A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 204), depend-

¹ G. Dickins, *Cat. of the Acropolis Museum*, pp. 141 ff.; Hauser, *op. cit.* Type No. 5, pp. 34 f.; E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland u. Rom*, pp. 18 ff.; A. von Netolitzka, *Öst. Jahresheft*, XVII, 1914, p. 128, fig. 12.

ing on whether the staff is regarded as a scepter, a thyrsus or a trident. It is very similar to the figure on the new relief in pose and style, for it too stands with the right leg forward, with the right arm raised and grasping a staff, with the left hand wrapped in the



Fig. 17. Neo-attic Relief. Herakles

cloak resting on the hip, and with the end of the himation hanging down behind in swallow-tail folds. Dickins (*op. cit.*, p. 143) regards a fourth century date for the Acropolis base as "only conjectural," but Schmidt dates it very closely between 390 and 370 (*op. cit.*, p. 30), the latter date being assigned to the base from Epidauros in the Athens

National Museum (No. 1425) with an archaistic female figure on the end panel.¹ The manner in which the lines of the body of the Agora Dionysos are rendered visible through the thin cloak is similar to the treatment of the drapery of the Dionysos on the relief in the Athens National Museum found in 1932, which belongs to Hauser's Type 10.²

The figure of the young woman on tiptoe on the second panel of the base shows familiar characteristics of Neo-attic style. It resembles the figure on the base from Epi-



Fig. 18. Marble Statuette

dauros mentioned above in the arrangement of the flowing ends of the drapery, in the visibility of the limbs through the material, and in the grouping of the folds of the garments between the legs. Similar characteristics are evident in the treatment of the female figures on the puteal from Corinth, especially of the so-called Hebe (Hauser, Type 8; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff. Cp. Overbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 251, fig. 67), and on the reliefs from Ephesus that have been related to the puteal by Schmidt (*op. cit.*, p. 58, pl. XX).

The nude youth of the third panel is also an admirable illustration of the Neo-attic type. Here are the characteristic traits of style: the slender proportions of the body,

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griech. u. röm. Sculptur*, pl. 564.

² N. Kyparissis in *Arch. Delt.*, *Parartema*, 1930-1931, p. 15. Cp. *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 392, pl. E.

the exaggerated muscles, and the lounging pose. Precisely the same style of figure appears on a puteal in the Capitoline Museum, and on several of the nude gods of that relief one can see the prominent calf (Apollo, Ares, Zeus, Poseidon), the indented hip (Apollo, Hermes), and the outcurved line of the lower leg (Ares, Hephaistos, Poseidon).¹ Jones considers the Capitoline puteal as "probably Athenian work of the first century B.C." The fine execution of the Agora base gives it high rank among the products of the Neo-attic school.

MARBLE TORSO OF A YOUTH

A small male statuette lacks its head and its lower legs (Fig. 18).² The figure is nude except for a cloak that is folded together in thick folds. This passes across the back and both arms which hang down close to the body, and is then carried across the arms in front just above the elbows. The ends drop along the thighs on each side. The head was made in a separate piece and was attached by an iron dowel that is still in place. The hair is arranged in conventional locks in archaistic style with a mass of five curls at the back and a long curl hanging down on either side of the neck in front. Remains of red color are preserved on the left curl and on the cloak. The youth holds an object in each hand but these objects are not easily recognizable. In the right hand he seems to be carrying a kantharos, and he may be holding in the left part of an animal, perhaps the hindquarters of a kid or deer. Such attributes would associate the figure with Dionysos or his circle.



Fig. 19. Statuette of Aphrodite

¹ H. S. Jones, *Cat. Sculptures Museo Capitolino*, pp. 106 ff, pl. 29.

² Inv. No. 4901—S 308. Found on March 16, 1933 in Section Theta, 34/6. Island marble. Height: 0.129 m.



Fig. 20. Aphrodite. Back



Fig. 21. Aphrodite. Right Side

STATUETTE OF APHRODITE

A deposit lying a little above bedrock in Section Iota, just south of the chapel of St. Spiridon, contained broken tiles and pottery, coins, and several pieces of sculpture of which one is a marble statuette of Aphrodite (Fig. 19).¹ The goddess, whose head and left arm are missing, is standing on a circular base with her weight borne on her right

¹ Inv. No. 6211-S 346. Found on April 20, 1933 in Section Iota, 37/B. Pentelic marble. Height including base: 0.437 m.; ht. of figure: 0.383 m.; width including base: 0.181 m.

leg. The upper part of the body is nude but the lower half is enveloped in a large cloak which is held in front of the body by the right hand. The technical execution of the work is very mediocre. The hand is disproportionately large, the index finger and the little finger are unnaturally long, and the drapery hangs in stiff wooden folds. The hair is arranged on the back of the neck in a mass of four stylized curls (Fig. 20), just as it is arranged on another statuette of Aphrodite found in the Agora in 1931 that was published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 174–175, fig. 4. On the right side of the figure a dolphin is represented head downward in a vertical position. Besides being the customary concomitant of the goddess the dolphin here also serves as a support for the statue (Fig. 21).

The date of the deposit in which the figure was lying is approximately fixed by the coins found in it of which the majority, twenty out of a total of thirty-one pieces, are Athenian Imperial coins of the second and third centuries. There are also some earlier coins and several late intrusions, but it is evident that the house containing these objects was destroyed when the "Valerian" wall in front of it was constructed in the latter part of the third century. The presence in the house of unfinished pieces of sculpture, besides the Aphrodite and the other works of the same provenience that will be discussed in this article, make it probable that a sculptor's workshop was there located.

HEAD OF APHRODITE

A small marble head of a woman (Fig. 22) was lying near the statuette that has just been described,¹ but its connection with the statuette is excluded by its size and by the arrangement of the back hair. The hair is parted in the middle and is combed back in wavy locks arranged on either side so as to cover the upper parts of the ears. It is caught in a knob at the back of the neck. The ears are pierced for earrings. The lines of the border of the hair form a right angle at the centre of the brow and give to it the shape of a nearly perfect isosceles triangle. The soft and sensuous cast of the features is obtained by the treatment of the eyebrows and eyelids, and by fulness of cheeks and of lips. The surface of the flesh is highly polished.

In general the type of Aphrodite is that which becomes common after the fourth century and is well known from such statues as the "Capitoline Venus" and the "Venus of Medici." In particular the head closely resembles in the arrangement of the hair and in the treatment of the features a contemporary work: the statuette of Artemis (so-called) from Cyprus in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,² of which a replica was found in the Agora in 1934.³ In type, model, and inspiration the new work

¹ Inv. No. 6210 S 345. Found on April 20, 1933 in Section Iota, 37/B. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.093 m.; width: 0.076 m.; chin to crown: 0.085 m.

² *Jahrb. d. Kunstsamm. d. Österr. Kaiserh.*, V, 1885, pls. 1, 2. Cp. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 326, fig. 141.

³ *Arch. Anz.*, 49, 1934, col. 134, fig. 5. *Ill. London News*, June 2, 1934, p. 863, fig. 9.

reflects a Hellenistic ancestor, but the details of workmanship and the high polish of the marble imply a date of construction consonant with that of the other objects in the same deposit.



Fig. 22. Head of Aphrodite

STATUETTE OF ATTIS

Another member of this group of discoveries is a statuette of the Phrygian god Attis (Fig. 23).¹ It was found in three pieces which join one another and as mended it is now intact except for some object that had been held in the right hand. The youth is standing on a circular base with his back against a square pillar that extends above his head. In the top surface of the capital of the pillar is a small square cutting for the insertion of the support of some unknown object. The god wears the Phrygian cap from beneath the rim of which locks of hair extend along the edge of the forehead. He is nude except for a chlamys that is fastened on the right shoulder and thence is draped over his left side in such a way as to cover the left arm and form a capacious fold, in which are carried the pine cone, pomegranate, and bunch of violets, the characteristic

¹ Inv. No. 6209—S 344. Found on April 20 and 21, 1933 in Section Iota, 37/B. Pentelic marble. Height with base: 0.875 m.; width: 0.206 m.; ht. of figure: 0.591 m.

symbols of the Attis cult.¹ The missing object, that was originally held in the right hand, was probably a shepherd's crook, an attribute that was regularly associated with the god, and the object that was set on the top of the post may have been a torch, attribute of Attis as attendant of Kybele.²

The cult of Attis was introduced into Athens with the advent of the Attalids in the latter part of the third century B.C., and it is an interesting coincidence that this statue of the god was found in close proximity to the Stoa of Attalos. The statue is crudely made with the head disproportionately large in relation to the body and with the details of the figure carelessly expressed. It too should be dated in the second century A.D.

BUST OF SERAPIS

A bust of Serapis from the same deposit shows equally careless workmanship (Fig. 24).³ The god is represented in the usual manner with his head crowned by a calathus, the sacred basket of the mysteries. He has the typical long hair and full beard that are characteristic of the god and he wears the large cloak with which his statues are commonly draped.⁴ Large drill holes are visible in the curly locks of hair and beard, and traces of red color are preserved on the hair. The uneven base is poorly adapted to support the bust of which the tenon fits badly into its socket, but this uncertain support is in accord with the generally negligent character of the work.

The cult of Serapis was presumably introduced into Athens by Ptolemy Philadelphus in the second quarter of the third century B.C.⁵ Pausanias (I, 18, 1-4) locates the



Fig. 23. Statuette of Attis

¹ Cp. Pottier et Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, p. 406.

² Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, col. 727.

³ Inv. No. 6554-S 355. Found on May 1, 1933 in Section Iota, 38/H. Pentelic marble. Height including base: 0.299 m.; ht. of bust with tenon: 0.262 m.; width at shoulders: 0.173 m.

⁴ S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, II, pp. 18-19.

⁵ See Roeder in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyc.*, s. v. *Sarapis*, col. 2415.

sanctuary somewhere in the neighborhood of the prytaneion and of the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, near the steep north cliff of the Acropolis up which the Persians climbed. Dedications to Serapis and Isis were found near the Metropolitan Church (*I. G.*, III, 923) and near the church of Hypapante (*I. G.*, II, 1612. See W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 380, n. 1)



Fig. 24. Bust of Serapis

he holds a rhyton and has in his left hand an object that is difficult to identify; it somewhat resembles a pomegranate. At the foot of the couch is seated a woman who is facing the man and is holding up in her left hand an offering of some kind. On the left a procession of four persons is approaching the couch. First come two bearded men whose bodies are

which is south of Section Iota of the excavations. Moreover, in the area (Omieron) now being dug just west of the south end of the Stoa of Attalos the boundary stone of the precinct of the Dioscuri was found built into the wall of a modern house. It is possible, therefore, that the statuette of Serapis had not been carried far from the place where it had been originally dedicated.

RELIEF OF A FUNERAL BANQUET

A small marble slab is decorated with a group of figures in relief representing a banquet or funeral feast (Fig. 25).¹ The back is left in a roughly picked state and at the bottom is a carelessly cut tongue for insertion in a base. The scene on the rectangular panel shows on the right a bearded man reclining on a couch supporting himself on his left elbow. He has a polos on his head and wears a cloak that is arranged to cover the lower part of the body while leaving the chest bare. In his raised right hand

¹ Inv. No. 8065—S 396. Found on June 30, 1933 in Section Zeta, 68/KT. Hymettian marble. Height: 0.167 m.; ht. without tenon: 0.14 m.; width: 0.205 m.

wrapped in large himatia and who have the right arm in each case crossed before the breast. They are followed by a child and a woman. These four figures are much smaller than the man and woman on the right. A long low table is standing in front of the couch and on it are rounded objects that may be loaves of bread, and other objects of pyramidal shape.

Reliefs representing ceremonial banquets of this kind are numerous. Svoronos illustrates many of those in the Athens National Museum (*op. cit.*, pls. LXXXV ff.,



Fig. 25. Plaque with Funeral Feast

pp. 550 ff.) and interprets them as scenes of worship, identifying the reclining male figure as Dionysos or Serapis and the seated woman as Hygieia or a Muse. Furtwängler (*Sammlung Sabouloff*, pls. XXX–XXXIII) calls them representations of the funeral banquet and explains the scene as the adoration of the heroized dead by the surviving members of their family. The larger size of the principal figures, their appearance, and attributes indicate that these ancestors have been metamorphosed into the likeness of gods and are worshipped as such by their descendants.

TWO STATUETTES OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Statuettes of the Mother of the Gods of various sizes have come to light in different areas of the excavation. Two of those found in 1933 are selected for illustration here. In one case, Fig. 26, the goddess is represented as seated in a small shrine.¹ She has a polos



Fig. 26. Relief of Mother of the Gods

on her head and wears a chiton and himation, the latter hanging over her left arm and being drawn across her knees. Both her arms are outstretched on the sides of the chair and in her right hand she holds a patera or phiale. At her right side a lion is crouching on the ground.

¹ Inv. No. 6468 S 353. Found on May 3, 1933 in Section Eta, 14/NT. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.102 m.; width: 0.078 m.; thickness: 0.04 m.

The second statuette, of which the head is missing, portrays the goddess as seated on a high-backed throne with her feet on a footstool (Fig. 27).¹ She is dressed in a high girt chiton over which is draped the himation which covers the lap and hangs down on the left side with an end falling over the left shoulder. Her right arm rests on the arm of the throne and the object held in the hand, though now largely broken away, was probably a patera. She holds a large tympanon with her left hand. A small lion is comfortably curled up on her lap.

Several of the statuettes of this type were found in the neighborhood of the building that has now been identified as the Metroön, and it is certain that the Mother of the Gods is represented because of the appearance of the figure, because of its attributes, and also because a similar statuette in the Athens National Museum (No. 1554) bears a dedication to the goddess.² It would be natural that this common type of statuette, made in cheap form in numerous replicas, should reflect in some degree the cult-statue of the Metroön that was the work of Pheidias (Pausanias, I, 3, 5) or of his pupil Agorakritos (Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVI, 17). The reference to the statue by Arrian (*Periplus*, 9) as a seated figure holding a cymbalon and with lions beneath the throne would accord sufficiently well with the type represented by our Fig. 26, but the other statuette represents a variant type with the lion on the lap of the goddess. Miss



Fig. 27. Mother of the Gods

Harrison regarded this symbolical motive as portraying an earlier conception and a pre-Pheidian type (*op. cit.*, pp. 46, 50). It is probable that a statue of the Mother stood in the Metroön prior to the time of Pheidias, and the alternative type may derive its arrangement of attributes from such an earlier work. It is undoubtedly only due to chance that of the eleven figures of the goddess so far found in the excavations, where the lion is present, in eight cases it is on her lap and in three on the ground.

¹ Inv. No. 6074-S 340. Found on April 19, 1933 in Section Theta, 22/10, in a Byzantine wall. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.132 m.; width: 0.085 m.; thickness: 0.07 m.

² See J. E. Harrison and G. Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 45, fig. 9; J. N. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. CXIX. Recently (1935) a similar statuette with inscribed dedication was found in the Metroön itself.

PORTRAIT OF A GREEK PHILOSOPHER

An interesting series of portrait heads, found with one exception in Section Iota on the eastern edge of the American Zone, represents persons of many different types. The first is a portrait of a Greek philosopher or scholar (Figs. 28 and 29).¹ The neck is finished at the bottom with a tongue for insertion in the socket of a statue or a base. The man is bald on the top of his head but on the sides the hair hangs down in wavy curls which cover most of the ear. The side-whiskers and beard are arranged in flame-like locks, and the ends of the mustache droop at the corners of the mouth. The lips are closed and deep lines are indented on either side of the nostrils. The lofty brow with its horizontal wrinkles and the deep-set thoughtful eyes give an idealized representation of the scholarly type.

The identification of this portrait is problematical. Hekler names it without question Herodotos (*Arch. Anz.*, 49, 1934, col. 260), but it is obviously quite different from the accepted portraits of Herodotos which show a head covered with hair.² I have suggested a resemblance to the more idealized portraits of Socrates (*A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 544), such as the herm in Naples³ or the head in Rome.⁴ But since there is no close similarity to any identified individual it is perhaps best to group this admirable portrait with the great host of "portraits of unknown Greeks."

PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST

A characteristic portrait is evidently presented by the head illustrated in Figs. 30 and 31.⁵ The head is very realistic in its expression, with wrinkles in the forehead, with heavy overhanging eyebrows, and with deep lines beneath the eyes and on either side of the nostrils. The lips are tightly compressed and small pockets of flesh are formed at the corners of the mouth. The smooth-shaven face allows the artist free play in the modelling of flesh and bone. The head is encircled by a rolled band above which the marble is left in a roughly picked state, an evident sign that it was painted. The man has the appearance of an ascetic priest of disagreeable character.

¹ Inv. No. 3640 S 270. Brought in by the owner of house No. 646/5 in Section Iota before the demolition of the house was begun. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.45 m.; from bottom of beard to top of head: 0.35 m.; from right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.075 m.

² J. J. Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikon.*, I, pp. 158 ff., pl. XIX; A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, p. 16.

³ Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV.

⁴ Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵ Inv. No. 5863 S 333. Found on April 3, 1933 in Section Iota, 18/AE, in a Roman deposit. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.292 m.; width: 0.20 m.; chin to crown: 0.268 m.; right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.077 m.

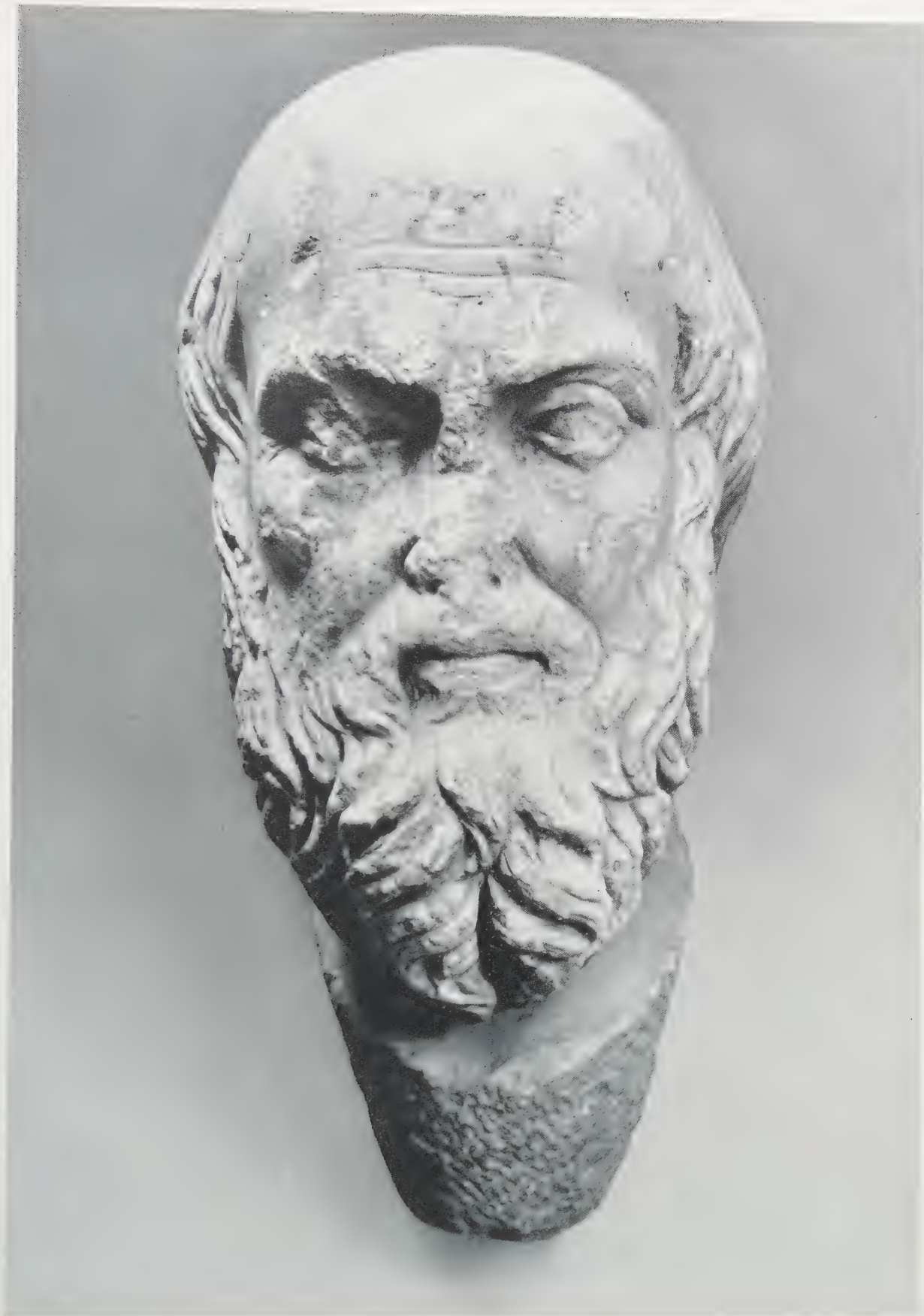


Fig. 28. Portrait of a Greek Philosopher

A head with similarly pronounced physiognomy and with a rolled fillet is the so-called Julius Caesar in the Museo Barracco.¹ Because of the presence of the star in the centre of the fillet this is interpreted as the portrait of a priest of Sothis by von Bissing,² of a



Fig. 29. Greek Philosopher. Profile

priest of Serapis by C. Blümel,³ who refers to it in connection with a head of a later period that is encircled with a similar rolled fillet with a star above the centre of the forehead.⁴

¹ See Robert West, *Römische Porträtplastik*, pp. 78–79, pl. XIX, fig. 75.

² *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, text to pl. 111, n. 22.

³ *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog d. Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, V, *Römische Bildnisse*, p. 41. Cp. L. Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, 47, 1932, p. 241, n. 2.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. 63.

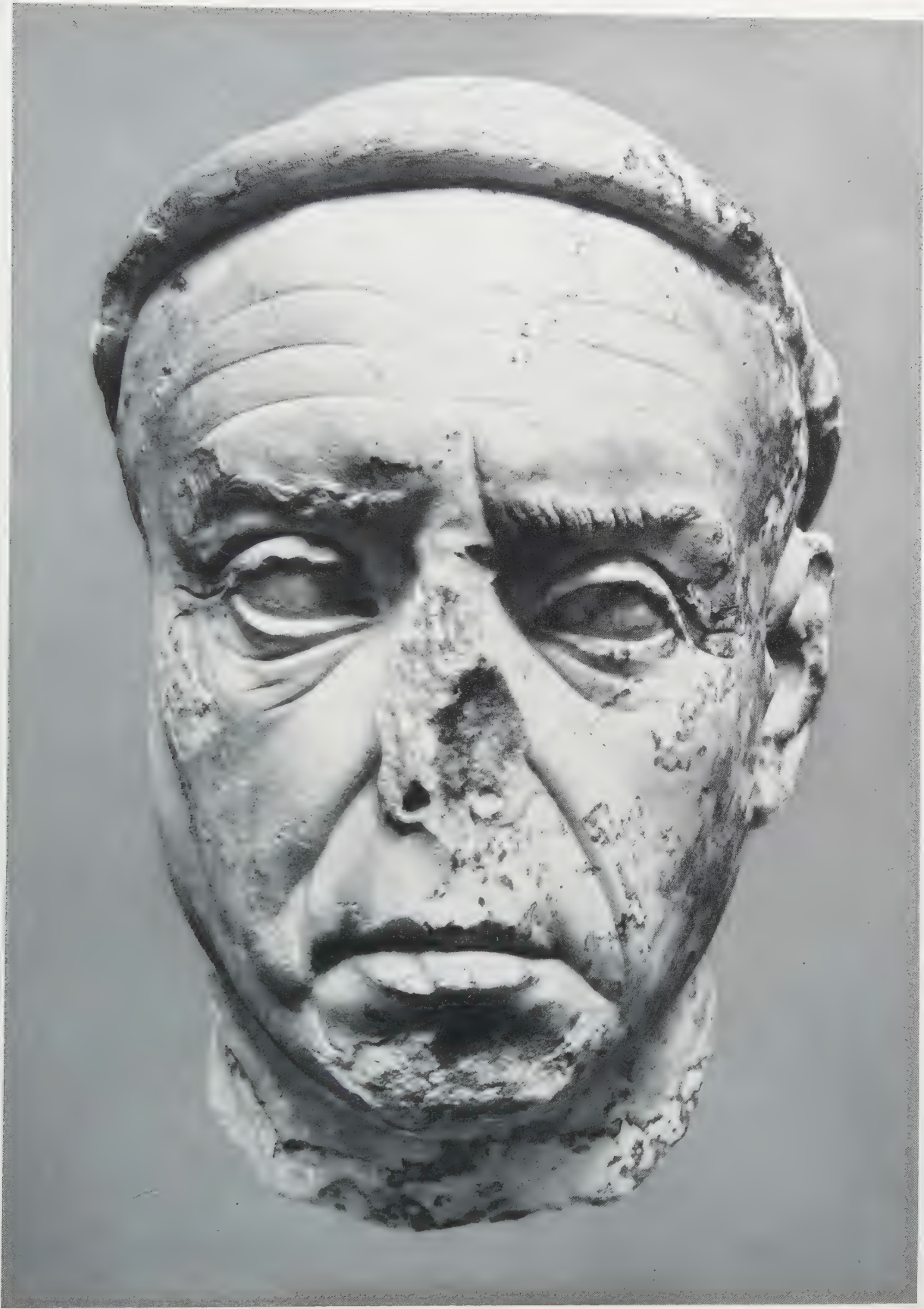


Fig. 30. Portrait of a Priest



Fig. 31. Profile View of Priest

A head of a different period and type at Alexandria, found in the Serapeion, has a similar thick diadem but the star is lacking.¹ Blümel also mentions a filletted head of a priest of Serapis at Alexandria which has the ascetic type of features appearing on the head from the Agora,² and a related head in Trieste is cited by von Bissing (*loc. cit.*). This head which is illustrated in Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, pl. 594, is described as an extraordinarily realistic portrait of the Republican period. The head is bound by a wreath instead of a fillet, but the grim expression of the features and the details of the physiognomy closely resemble those of the Agora head. The new head should also be dated in the Republican period and, in spite of the absence of the star on the fillet, may be interpreted as a portrait of a priest of Serapis or Isis.

PORTRAIT BUST OF AUGUSTUS

The finest portrait in the series is one representing Augustus as a young man which is a masterwork of an Athenian artist of the Roman age (Plate V and Figs. 32–34).³ The head was found built into the “Valerian” wall in the southern part of Section Iota, and somewhat later the bust was discovered in a pit in the southwest corner of the same area. It has been stated above (p. 332) that the archaeological evidence at present available fixes the date of the wall in the latter part of the third century. The contents of the pit also date, at least in part, from the third century (see above, p. 337), so that it is clear that the bust was demolished at that time. Both ears are somewhat injured and the tip of the nose is missing, but otherwise the state of preservation is good and the marble has retained its polished surface. A tenon extends from the bottom of the piece for insertion in a post by which the bust was supported.

This head exhibits the familiar physiognomy of the portraits of Augustus in his younger years. One recognizes the moderately large and protruding ears, the disordered hair with the locks on the forehead and a curl in front of each ear, the high cheek bones with the flesh drawn tightly over them, the slightly sunken cheeks, the arched nose that is especially mentioned by Suetonius (*Augustus*, 79), the marked depression in the middle of the upper lip, the tightly closed lips, and the characteristic chin. The eyes are rather deeply set beneath overhanging brows and even in the marble medium give the impression of clearness, brightness and power described by Suetonius.

In a recent study of the portraits of Augustus Otto Brendel takes as a necessary starting point the heads that are used on coins,⁴ and he finds that a new type of portrait

¹ C. Watzinger, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, 1, p. 32, pl. X.

² T. Schreiber, *ibid.*, I, p. 262, pls. XLV–XLVI.

³ Inv. No. 6569–S 356. Found on May 5, 1933 in Section Iota, 52/I. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.48 m.; width of head: 0.201 m.; width of bust: 0.39 m.; chin to crown: 0.252 m.; right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.066 m.

⁴ *Ikonographie des Kaisers Augustus*, Heidelberg Diss., Nürnberg, 1931. A bibliography of studies of Augustus portraits is given on p. 15.

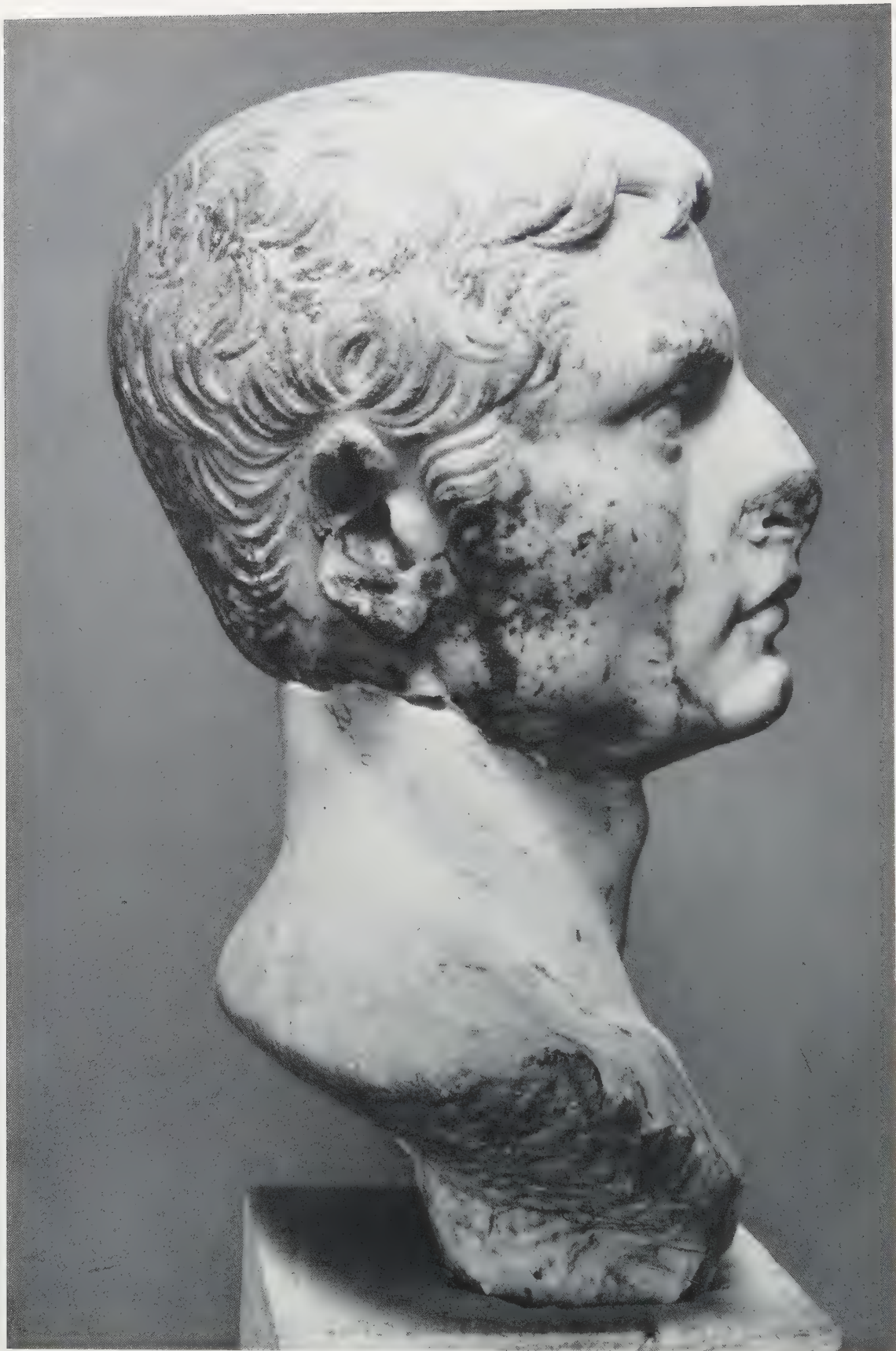


Fig. 32. Augustus. Right Side

appears on eastern coins at some time between 35 and 30 B.C. (pp. 41, 43), and that it was widely known in the east in the decade between 35 and 25. This type, called by Brendel (p. 41) a Hellenistic Augustus, appears on a series of coins assigned to an eastern provenience by Mattingly.¹ It is reasonable to conclude that such a striking portrait was

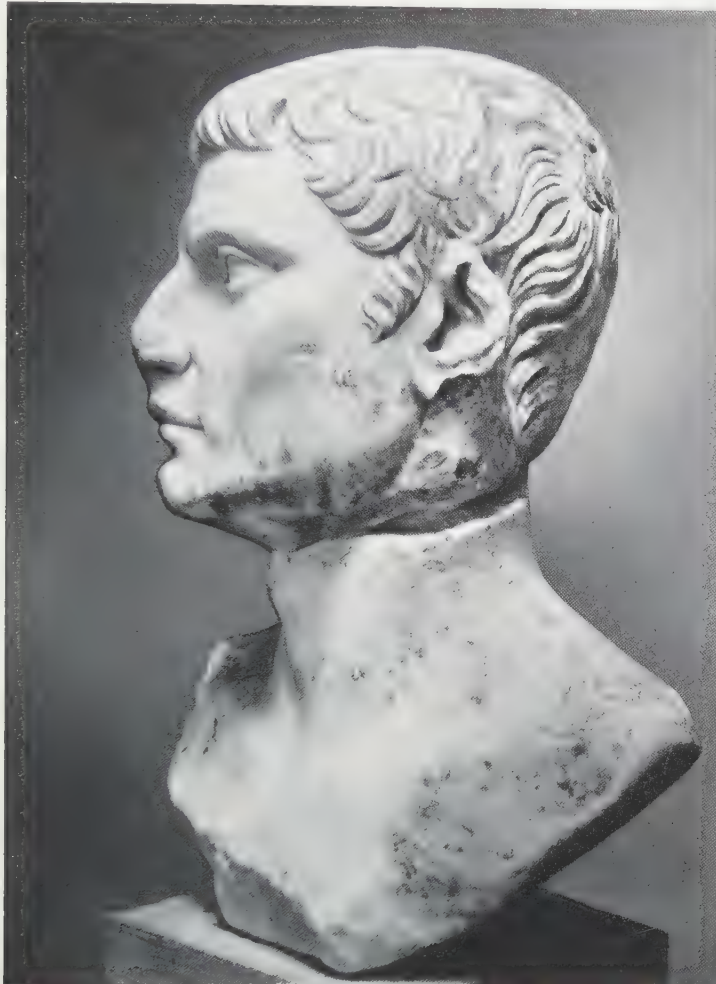


Fig. 33. Augustus. Left Side

taken from a sculptured work which, because of its stylistic traits, must have been made by a Greek artist. Brendel selects as representatives of the prototype of the portraits on the coins the head of a statue in Florence (Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griechische u. römische Porträts*, No. 697) and a bust in the Capitoline Museum (H. S. Jones, *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, pl. 46), as well as other related heads included in his Types C and D.

¹ *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I, pl. 14, nos. 10–19.

The chronology of the coins and the type of portrait on them point to a Greek work made about 31 B.C., just at the time of the visit of Augustus to Greece. On that occasion he stayed in Aegina because of his resentment at Athens for its support of Antony.¹ Athens must have made every effort at that time to become reconciled to the Roman



Fig. 34. Augustus. Back

conqueror, and, in fact, the construction of a temple to him on the Acropolis was begun shortly afterwards (Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 181). That would have been an appropriate time for the Athenians to commission their leading artist to make a portrait from the living model. It is uncertain whether coins with this type of head were struck at Athens,² but

¹ Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*, p. 207 F. See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 17.

² Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. CXXIV, pl. 16, nos. 5-8; Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 37.



Portrait of Augustus

the presence of the same type on coins of Corinth, struck after 17 B.C.,¹ strengthens the probability that the prototype of the portrait on the coins was made in Greece.

The new head is similar in all essential characteristics to the portraits on the coins. It is a work that is thoroughly Greek in spirit expressing in the features of an individual the noblest type of aristocrat and conqueror. It is easily comprehensible that the Emperor was pleased with this portrait of his nobler self and that it was adopted for a period of years as the official type for reproduction on imperial and colonial coins.

HEAD OF CLAUDIUS

Another marble head that is larger than life-size evidently portrays a Roman Emperor (Figs. 35-36).² The nose and chin are damaged. The neck terminates in a roughly picked tongue intended for insertion in a socket. Apparently the head was not completely finished since two measuring points have been left on the surface, one on the forehead and another below the chin. The man's face is clean-shaven and has a stern and forbidding expression with its tightly compressed lips. The hair is brushed down over the forehead and the head is crowned by a large laurel wreath that extends high above the hair in front and behind is tied by a ribbon, of which the ends hang down on the neck. The features, which clearly present a portrait type, are characteristic of the portraits of the Julio-Claudian family, but resemblances among members of the family sometimes make the identification of the individual difficult.

The new head exhibits many characteristics of the accepted portraits of Claudius. It represents a middle aged man with dignified and noble expression as described by Suetonius (*Claudius*, 30). The hair falls in thick locks on the forehead, the forehead is wrinkled with vertical lines between the eyebrows, and the cheeks are furrowed.³ There are, however, obvious divergencies among the Claudius portraits as the juxtaposition of the members of any group of them clearly indicates.⁴ Our head may be compared with the colossal head from Otricoli in the Vatican⁵ with which it has many traits in common, but from which it differs in the size of the ears. Also useful for comparison is the portrait of Claudius in Parma which is well illustrated by Curtius in *Römische Mitteilungen*, 47, 1932, pl. 64.⁶ This head also has a stern and dignified expression, and other similarities to the new head that may be noted are the shape of the head, the arrangement of the

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Corinth*, pl. XV, nos. 4, 9, 12; K. M. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, pp. 6-7, pl. I, no. 28.

² Inv. No. 6213-S 347. Found on April 21, 1933 in Section Iota, 19/AB, in a water deposit. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.585 m.; width: 0.295 m.; right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.077 m.

³ J. J. Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.*, II, 1, pp. 345 ff. Cp. F. P. Johnson in *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 164.

⁴ See R. West, *op. cit.*, pl. LVII.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 244.

⁶ F. Poulsen, *Porträtstudien in norditalienischen Provinzmuseen*, p. 51, pl. LXX.



Fig. 35. Portrait of Claudius

front hair, the furrowed brow, the shape of the eyes, the mouth, and the lines on either side of the nostrils. The certain portraits of Claudius that appear on the coins do not



Fig. 36. Claudius. Profile

show any serious divergencies from this type.¹ The large size of the head in the Agora and the presence of the wreath indicate an imperial portrait, and its resemblance to Claudius is closer than to other members of the same dynasty.

¹ Cp. R. West, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIX, no. 85.



Fig. 37. Faustina the Younger

FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER

The deposit of sculpture in the eastern part of Section Iota included the marble bust of a woman that is perfectly preserved (Figs. 37–38).¹ The work had not been completely finished in antiquity since the marks of the chisel and the measuring points on cheek bones and chin have not been removed as they would have been in the final polishing process. The head was planned for insertion in the top of a statue or of a post and the vertical surface of its base has been left in a roughly picked state with only a narrow smooth band at its upper edge.

The head represents a middle-aged woman with severe features. It is evidently a portrait of an individual of firm character and of strong will. The expression of the features, achieved by the modelling of the cheeks and by the tight compression of the lips, characterizes a woman who is accustomed to rule. The hair is parted in the middle and is arranged in gently undulating waves on each side, by which the upper part of the ear is covered. At the back of the neck it is gathered in a knot formed by the coiling of the braids. Exactly this style of head-dress appears on portraits of the younger Faustina on coins dated between 162 and 166 A.D.² It is well illustrated on a coin reproduced by Hekler (*Greek and Roman Portraits*, p. 311, no. 12), and on a coin of the Empress shown by Bernhart.³ In both cases, besides the similarity

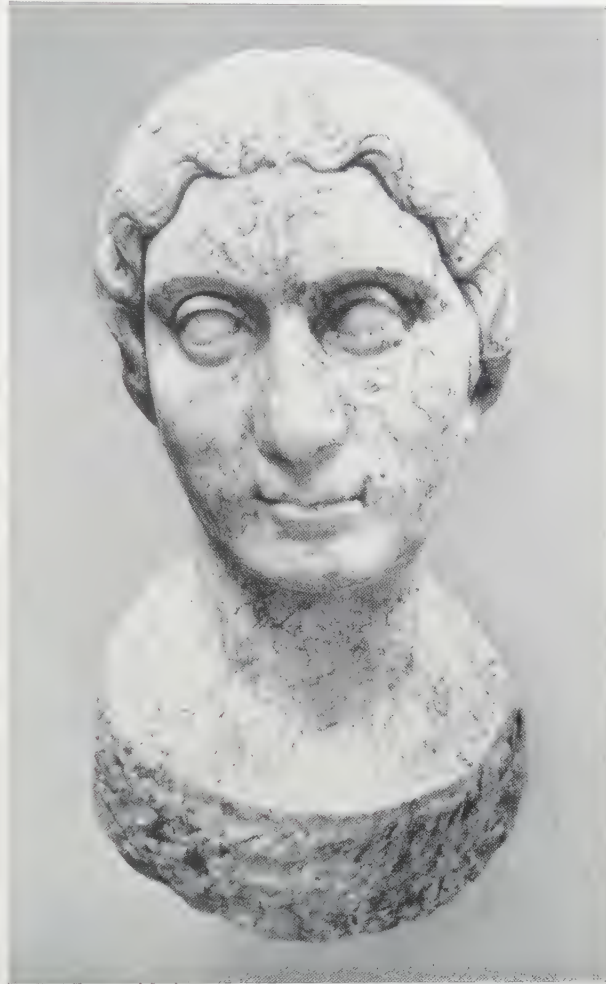


Fig. 38. Faustina. Front View

¹ Inv. No. 6745-S 362. Found on May 11, 1933 in Section Iota, 37/E. White marble. Height: 0.398 m.; width of head: 0.186 m.; of base: 0.215 m.; chin to crown: 0.24 m.; chin to hair on brow: 0.182 m.; right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.07 m.

² Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s. v. *Haartracht*, VII, col. 2141.

³ *Handbuch zur Münzkunde d. römischen Kaiserzeit*, pl. 10, no. 7.

of the hair-dress, the features in profile resemble the side view of our head given in Fig. 37.

With the portrait of the Empress on coins as a fixed starting point numerous heads have been identified as picturing Faustina. The type has recently been studied by Poulsen in *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, 47, 1932, pp. 83 ff. The portraits which Poulsen lists as certain likenesses differ somewhat in their details, but one (p. 86, no. 3) is strikingly similar to the head from the Agora. This is a bust in the Louvre that is reproduced by J. J. Bernoulli in *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 2, pl. LIV. The resemblances between the two heads to be noted are the arrangement of the hair, the shape of the eyes, the tightly closed lips, and the form of the chin. The nose of the Louvre bust is restored. In view of these parallels we may confidently apply to the head from the Agora the statement of Bernoulli on the work in Paris (*op. cit.*, p. 192) that there could scarcely be another portrait that would reproduce so adequately the coin-type of the younger Faustina.

COLOSSAL HEAD OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

The appearance and size of another head from Section Iota indicate that it is a portrait of a Roman Emperor (Figs. 39-40).¹ This inference is strengthened by the fact that it was found not far from the position where the head of Claudius was lying. The head is perfectly preserved except for an injury to the tip of the nose and for some minor chipping. At the back of the head a rectangular patch that had been dowed on in antiquity is still in place. The man is bearded and the hair of the beard is arranged in flame-like locks. The hair of the head is thick and abundant and is represented in disorderly array. A row of curls hangs down on the forehead which is framed on either side by longer outcurving locks. The eyebrows are indicated by incisions and the pupils of the eyes have been bored with a drill. The nose is slightly curved and is separated by a deep depression from the brow. The expression of the face is dignified and benign, and in general the sculpture is admirable in its technique and is impressive in its appearance.

In preliminary reports of the excavations I have suggested the possibility that this head is a portrait of Commodus,² but in spite of some resemblance to the heads of Commodus³ the characteristic eyelids of Commodus are lacking and the arrangement of the hair on the forehead is different. It is also difficult to believe that this head portrays a man as young as thirty-one years, the age of Commodus when he was killed. On the other hand in the arrangement of the locks of hair on the forehead the head exhibits a peculiar characteristic of the portraits of Septimius Severus. Other traits of the features also agree with the type established for that Emperor by Bernoulli (*op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.).

¹ Inv. No. 5879-S 335. Found on April 6, 1933 in Section Iota, 20/ΔΓ. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.392 m.; width: 0.331 m.; right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.092 m.

² *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 309; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 297.

³ See Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 270.



Fig. 39. Portrait of Septimius Severus

These are the smooth forehead with only slight swelling above the eyebrows, the deep depression between nose and forehead, the comparatively small nose, and the mild and friendly expression. In the list of eighty-three portraits of Septimius cited by Bernoulli it will be sufficient to select one only (no. 62, p. 27) for comparison with the new head.

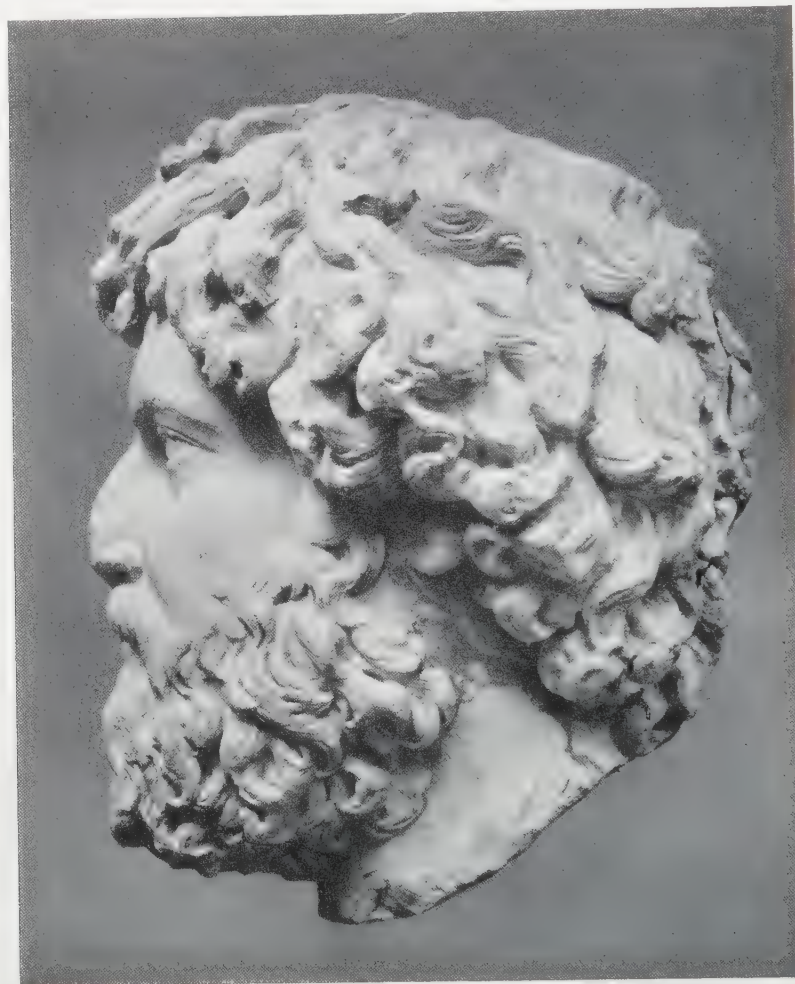


Fig. 40. Septimius Severus. Profile

This portrait, which is in Ince Blundell Hall and is well illustrated by Poulsen (*Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, p. 101, no. 95), is very similar in all essential details to the head in the Agora. There seems no reason to doubt that they both portray the same individual and that the individual was Septimius Severus. This identification is confirmed by a comparison of the new head with the large bronze head in the Museum at Nicosia in Cyprus, an admirable portrait showing all the characteristic physiognomical traits of the Emperor (*Arch. Anz.*, 49, 1934, col. 99, fig. 13).

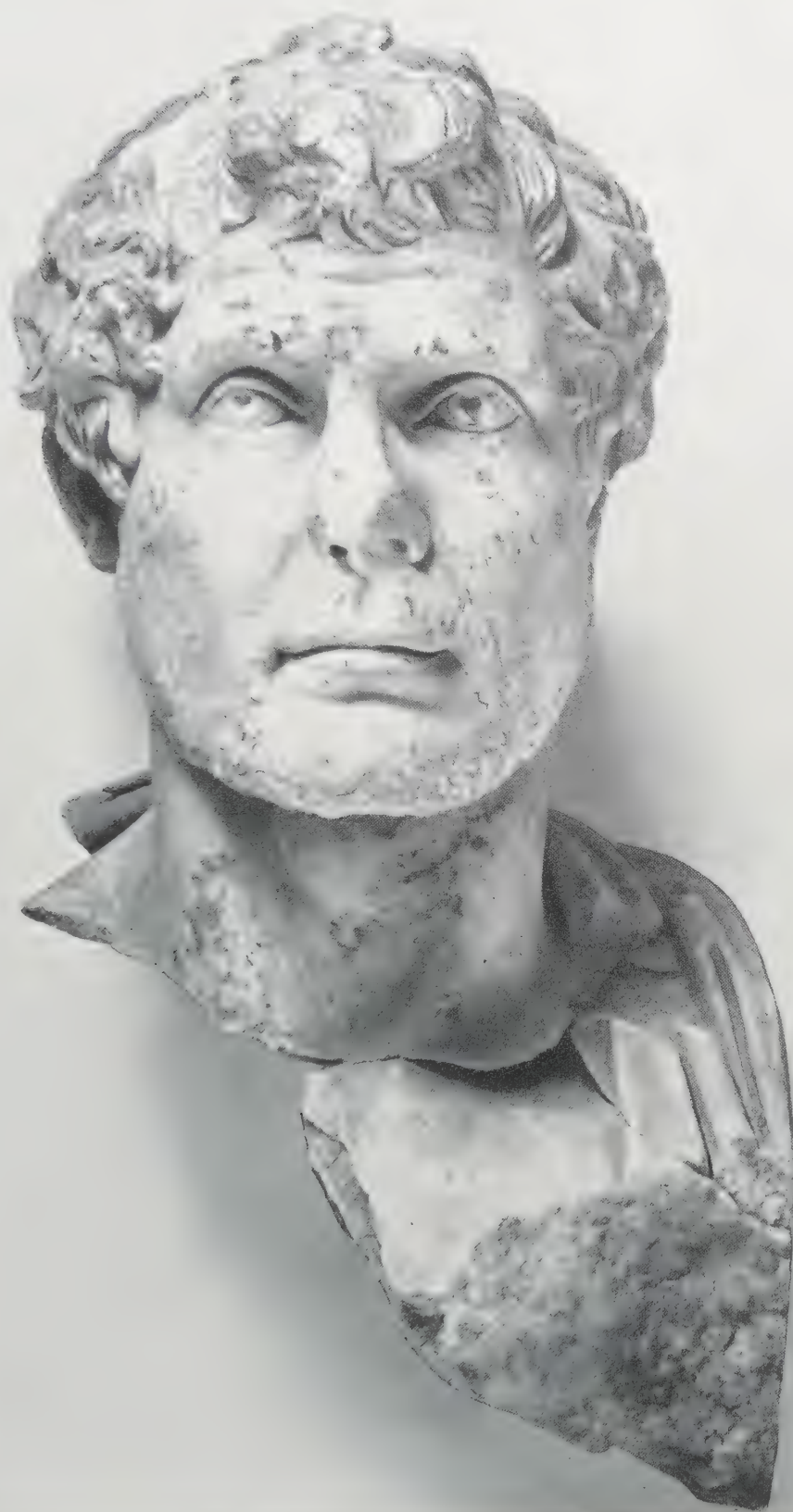


Fig. 41. Portrait of a Kosmetes.

AN ATHENIAN KOSMETES

The last of the series of Roman portraits is a life-sized bust that is extremely life-like in appearance (Fig. 41).¹ The right shoulder and back are missing but on the left shoulder the folds of the cloak are preserved. The hair is rumpled and disordered, the forehead is wrinkled; the eyebrows are indicated by chisel marks as is also the hair of mustache and of beard. It has been remarked that this method of rendering the hair appears in use at the beginning of the third century A.D.,² and the same date is suggested by the style of the work and by the technique of its craftsmanship. The very characteristic features of this head identify it as a portrait study of an individual, and although it is not possible to name the individual one may suggest the rôle that he played in the state.

The type of portrait, the squared termination of the bust and the bit of cloak on the shoulder bring this head into association with a group of portrait busts supported by posts or herms, now in the Athens National Museum, that were found in 1861 at the eastern end of the Roman Agora built into the "Valerian" wall. These heads were identified by inscriptions preserved on some of the herms as portraits of Kosmetai, the officers who had charge of the training of the ephebes during their year of service to the state. The portraits are described and fully discussed by Graindor in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 241 ff. In its technique our head approximates Graindor's No. 15, p. 339 (Nat. Mus. No. 409). Similarities to be noted are the carelessly made hair, the pupils of the eyes, and the use of incision on closely cropped beard and mustache. The realistic and life-like expression of the features is a common characteristic of these admirable portraits.

¹ Inv. No. 7931 S 387. Found on June 23, 1933 in Section Eta, 42/KE, in a late Roman deposit. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.525 m.; width of head: 0.234 m.; chin to crown: 0.27 m.; right corner of mouth to inner corner of right eye: 0.074 m.

² P. Graindor in *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, p. 339; E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 378.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

THE DIE USED FOR AMPHORA STAMPS

No actual die used for ancient Greek amphora stamps has been identified.¹ It has been conjectured that such dies were of wood,² and so have not been preserved, but stone and metal are still suggested. The Russian scholar Grakov who has published most recently on the subject believes the material was usually one or other of the latter,³ because of the definition of both angles and curves, both vertical and horizontal lines, to be observed in the impressions. He concedes the possibility of an occasional Rhodian wooden die, but finds that most stamps indicate a die made of a hard material with a smooth surface.

Dies for stamps like **170**⁴ and **152** (see Fig. 1) certainly appear to have been cut in a hard material. But compare the line which forms their letters with that in **24**,⁵ where the slight relief is emphasized by irregular bordering sunk lines. A considerable number

¹ The present article is somewhat expanded from a paper read on Dec. 28, 1934 at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Toronto. I wish to express my thanks, for many courtesies and useful suggestions, to Miss M. J. Milne and others of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and to Mr. Sydney Noe and others of the American Numismatic Society.

For the subject of amphora stamps the reader is referred to *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 197–310, to which the following are *addenda et corrigenda*:

On p. 233, under **71**, read “[...]ῶς *Ἐαυδύο*[v (retr.).”

On p. 276, under **221**, add a reference to B. N. Grakov, *Ancient Greek pottery stamps with the names of Astynomi*, Moscow, 1929. The review (*Phil. Woch.*, 1933, pp. 630–647), to which Prof. D. M. Robinson has kindly called my attention, indicates that the book contains an important chronological discussion (chap. V) and a useful index. Outside of chronological evidence and lists to help in making restorations no attempt was made in my article to include a comprehensive bibliography, but only to refer to those already compiled (cf. p. 207).

Dr. Robinson has also called my attention to the fact that the south shore of the Black Sea is not part of the U.S.S.R. as a comparison of my text on p. 205 with my comment on **221** might suggest. He was the first to suggest (*A.J.A.*, IX, 1905, p. 300) what Grakov now believes (see his chap. I), that Sinope was a place of origin of the Astynome handles.

Prof. Nilsson has been good enough to send me notes on a probable duplicate of Pl. I, 5, now in the Berlin Museum, apparently unpublished. The inscription in that case also is incompletely preserved so that the second name cannot be read.

² See Nilsson, M., *Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos*, in *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, V, Copenhagen, 1909, p. 56.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 70. I owe my knowledge of Grakov's observations on the die to Prof. Alfred R. Bellinger and Prof. Vernadsky his colleague at Yale University.

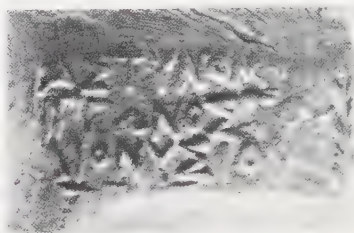
⁴ Numbers in bold face type are those of the catalogue in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 210–295.

⁵ See further **25–28**.

of stamps show this effect very distinctly. It is puzzling at first, but explained if one takes a plasticine impression to help one visualize the die. Such a line implies a die made of some material which would bank on either side of the graver during the process



3 Thasian



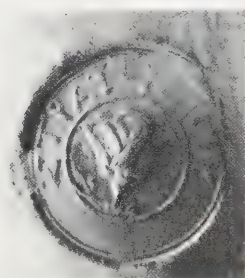
221 "South Russian"



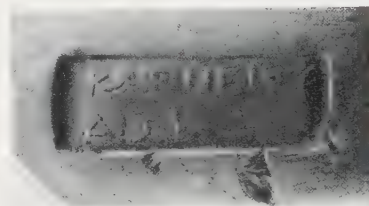
127 Rhodian



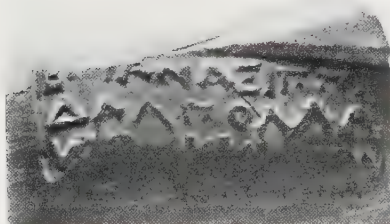
170 Knidian



80 Rhodian



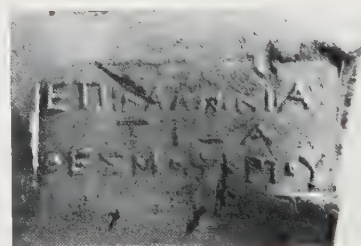
24 Rhodian



152 Knidian



70 Rhodian



54 Rhodian

Fig. 1. Stamps from the Agora, 1931-1932, Illustrating Various Types of Dies

of incision. It is well exemplified by the handles illustrated in Figs. 2-4, very obvious when one examines the actual objects and compares them with the impressions representing the dies, and sufficiently clear in the photographs when one has turned the page round a little to overcome an optical illusion.¹ The material of the die may well have

¹ The sunk lines in the plasticine "die" especially in Figs. 3-4 may appear at first to be in relief.



Fig. 2. Rhodian Handle with Plasticine Impression of the Stamp.
Agora No. 28



Fig. 3. Knidian Handle with Plasticine Impression of the Stamp.
Agora SS 592

been clay, in which before it is baked one may write, with which after it is baked one may impress unbaked clay. This is the method followed by a modern Aiginetan potter who appears to have started to stamp jars quite without archaeological suggestion. Fig. 5 shows two dies he used, and below them the "prototypes" (his expression) from which he made them. On the surface of the sunken area of the prototype he wrote with a pencil, while the clay was still raw, his name and native place, and finished the design with a floral device. The prototype was baked and then soft clay was pressed into it to



Fig. 4. Rhodian Handle with Plasticine Impression of the Stamp.
Agora SS 1892

make the actual die, which was ready to use when it also had been baked. (Note that the die to the right proved too large and had to be cut down.) This process results of course in an intaglio final impression, with which he contents himself, because to get raised letters one would have to write "upside down." The line appearing on his die may be examined for purposes of comparison, since it is in relief like that on the ancient impression. He has allowed the clay to harden somewhat before being inscribed, and has made a neat job, but some of the little banks and corresponding depressions can be detected. The line has the quality to which I have been calling attention.

It will be seen that an intaglio inscription cannot by any number of steps of direct casting or moulding be made into a relief inscription reading in the same direction. But the ancient Greeks do not seem to have objected either to writing or to reading backward, and hence incised the letters directly on the die. The same method is practicable

for simple devices which are to be outlined or crudely modelled. It is possible to produce very beautiful and intricate modelling by working in intaglio, as many engraved gems prove. But when an easier way would serve the same purpose it is reasonable to suppose that it was used. We may assume that the die which produced the rose seal (80) in the centre of Fig. 1 was made somewhat as follows: the rose was carved in relief on a separate punch, like the stamps used to make Arretine moulds (cf. Fig. 6-7)¹ or the little implement illustrated in Fig. 8 which was probably intended for the making of moulds for Megarian

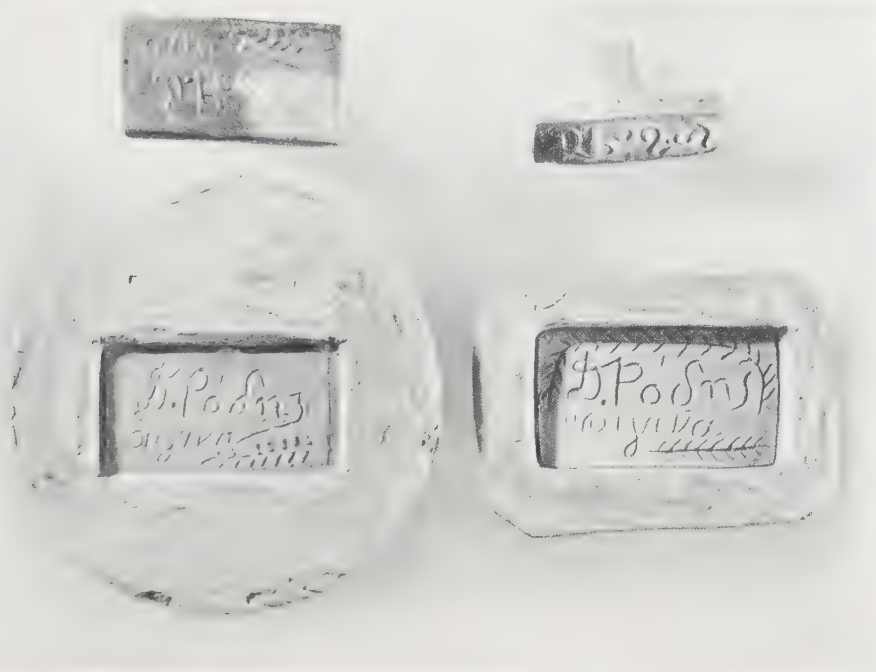


Fig. 5. Dies and their "Prototypes" used by a Modern Greek Potter

bowls, cp. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 453, fig. 120; on a block of unbaked clay the two circles were drawn with the help of compasses; the name was written (retrograde in this case); the rose punch was pressed into the centre, thus obliterating the trace of the centre leg of the compasses which may be what we see in 70 (Fig. 1); the foliage round the bottom was perhaps added by means of the graver; the die was then cut out and baked. The process thus outlined need only be carried a little further to explain certain stamps which led Dumont to believe the ancients knew the use of movable type.² It is probable

¹ This stamp with several others is published by Miss Richter in the *Festschrift James Loeb*, Munich, 1930, pp. 77-80.

² *Inscriptions Céramiques de Grèce*, Paris, 1871, pp. 395-402. The drawings show letters inverted, laid on their sides or otherwise misplaced. Dumont's explanation of these phenomena has been universally rejected (recently by Grakov, *loc. cit.*) but no satisfactory substitute has been offered. It has been objected

that some potters used (as did Benvenuto Cellini for his medals)¹ an alphabet of punches for the individual letters which enabled them to make new dies of professional appearance in short order.

Fig. 1 shows a variety of characteristic local styles. The hard die line, if one may so designate it, is most obvious in some of the rectangular Knidian stamps, like **152** and **170**, but incision into a hard substance seems also indicated for the early Thasian dies, **3** being a typical impression. In spite of early examples like **127**, added to some late specimens, the soft die line seems generally characteristic of Rhodian stamps. The typically Rhodian **54** is more neatly made than **24** but the tell-tale sunken borders are visible



Fig. 6. Arretine Stamp in the Metropolitan Museum



Fig. 7. Side View of Stamp in Fig. 6

along the freshly preserved letters at the left end. The soft die line is also demonstrable on numerous late Thasian stamps, such as those cited under **26**.² It seems then to have had considerable popularity during the third century B.C., but there are indubitable examples from later times.³ The effect would vary with the shape and sharpness of the

(see H. Dressel in *C.I.L.*, XV, 1, p. 3, on the die used in stamping bricks) that the misplaced letters sometimes overlap each other. This would of course be physically impossible if they were made by separate pieces of type set together as for instance in the modern rubber stamp. But it might easily happen if letter punches were used.

For the suggestion that movable type was used in Arretine signature stamps, see *C.I.L.*, III, 6010, 103b, and the comment of H. Comfort in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VII, 1929, p. 178.

¹ See G. F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1920, p. 27. I owe the reference to this excellent chapter on technique, as well as other counsel, to Mr. William M. Ivins, jr., Curator of Prints in the Metropolitan Museum.

² *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 223.

³ See e g. *ibid.*, 258.

graving point, with the degree of softness of the die while it was being inscribed, and with the care used.

221 is included in Fig. 1 because the opinion of Grakov about the material of the die cited at the beginning of this article is based very largely on a study of "South Russian" or Astynome stamps.

The circumstantial evidence for the use of clay name stamps to stamp clay in earlier times is confirmed by direct evidence for their use in the Roman period, in the Arretine and later *terra sigillata* signature stamps, of which known examples date from the time of Augustus to the early second century A.D.¹ The possibility that clay stamps were used on jars or bricks is rejected by Dressel² on the ground that none has been preserved.

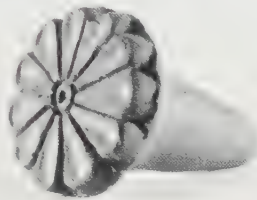


Fig. 8. Agora SS 88

Very few pottery works for such ware have been excavated, however, and in the great quantity of coarse potsherds that would be found on a factory site a small rough clay object like the dies illustrated in Fig. 5 might escape notice if the excavators were not looking for it.

Although I think there is no doubt that many Greek amphorae were stamped with clay dies, it is quite possible that each of the other materials proposed was used at one time or another. An impression like **127** (Fig. 1) might come from a stone if one considers the inscription on engraved gems like that of Stesikrates³ in the Metropolitan Museum. **170**, on the other hand, suggests wood carving, and several investigators have traced the effect of wood grain on amphora stamps and on bricks.⁴ A large number of

¹ I owe my information on this subject to Dr. Howard Comfort. See his article above-mentioned. He refers me also to Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, p. 439, and Déchelette, *Les Vases Céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine*, II, p. 337, note 3 (for a list of the names).

² *Loc. cit.*, note 1. He actually refers to a clay die preserved in Roanne, which exactly corresponds with the impression on several bricks (see under no. 83 on p. 32) but he is inclined to doubt its genuineness.

³ See Richter, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems*, New York, 1920, pl. 17.

⁴ Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 396 ff. (Knidian jars); Wace, *B.S.A.*, XIII, p. 17 (Greek bricks); Maiuri, *op. cit.*, p. 264 (Rhodian jars). See also Grakov, *loc. cit.* Dressel, *op. cit.*, p. 3, suggests a wooden die was used on Roman bricks because certain lacunae indicate a typical wood crack in the die.

An item τύπον ξύλινον κεραμίδων τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῶνα in a Delian inventory list (see *B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 48, l. 172) is taken by Wace and others following him to refer to a wooden implement for stamping

bronze stamps have been preserved from classical antiquity. Most of these probably belong to the Roman period, a great many being in Latin, like the example from Boscoreale¹ shown in Figs. 9–10. But a bronze stamp in the British Museum² could,



Fig. 9. Bronze Stamp in the Metropolitan Museum

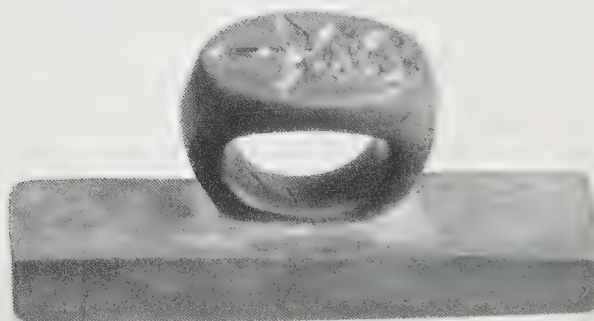


Fig. 10. Side View of Stamp in Fig. 9

so far as one can tell from the description, have been used on handles: it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in. and reads MAP|CYA in incised letters.

bricks. I can find no analogy for such a use of τύπος. The item in this case is more likely to have been a model from which new moulds could always be made so that the size would remain standard.

¹ Published by Miss Milne in *Met. Mus. Bulletin*, 1930, pp. 188–190. She refers to *C.I.L.*, X, 8058 for others from Pompeii. See also Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, nos. 3031–3182. The letters are usually in relief on the implement.

² Walters, no. 3062. For another possibility, see no. 328.

These are speculations, however, until we find actual specimens which match ancient impressions. What emerges from the investigation as most interesting is the soft die line, because of the fact that it occurs on a large number of coins.¹ A coin cannot be struck by means of a clay die. One must conclude that, contrary to accepted opinion, at least some of the dies were cast.

¹ E.g. *B. M. C. Alexandria*, pl. III, 140; pl. XXIII, 162; pl. XXVI, 171; *Arabia, etc.*, pl. VIII in general; pl. XX, 12; pl. XXVIII, 3; pl. XXXIII, 11; pl. XXXV–XXXVII in general; *Caria, etc.*, pl. VII, 3; pl. XVII, 8; pl. XLII, 5, 3, 1; pl. XLV, 11; *Central Greece*, pl. VII, 17; *Crete, etc.*, pl. XIII, 12; pl. XXI, 22; pl. XXIV, 15; *Cyprus*, pl. XII, 19; pl. XV, 3; pl. XIX, 14–15; *Cyrenaica*, pl. X, especially 4; pl. XV, 35, 38; *Galatia, etc.*, pl. XIX, 8, 11; *Palestine*, pl. XXX, especially 1; and many others.

The majority of the most obvious examples are not really Greek coins, but possibly that simply means that the Greeks proper had a higher standard of execution with a similar technique.

The "incuse" coins of Southern Italy seem to me many of them to betray the signs of work in wax. Hill (*Ancient Methods of Coining*, in the *Num. Chron.*, 1922, see pp. 19–20) discusses some of these signs in detail, and I do not find his explanation quite convincing.

It should be noted that if the soft die line indicates a cast die for coins, it may indicate also a metal die for amphora stamps. For the fine Rhodian stamps I see at present no test except probability.

VIRGINIA GRACE

A BLACK-FIGURED DEINOS

We cannot help feeling, on looking at early black-figured vases, that the painters allowed themselves to give rein to their natural high spirits. In rendering as well as in choice of subjects there is an abundance of life, a naive humor, a love of violent action, that give ample evidence of pleasure taken in the execution of the work. Vigor, rather than elegance, is the keynote; though the figures are sometimes rather crude and more than a little misshapen, we must feel that to this very crudeness is due some of their remarkable life. Sophilos may be taken as the transition from vigor to elegance as the ideal; on the Acropolis deinos, elegance; on the Pharsalos fragments, vigor.¹ With Klitias elegance has become supreme; the technique of drawing has been mastered; his figures are always carefully drawn, his scenes arranged with an eye to composition.

The Agora deinos² is of especial interest because it comes at just the period when this struggle between elegance and vigor was at its climax; elegance; perhaps unfortunately, to win; for there were to be few like Exekias and Phrynos who could combine the two, and many who contented themselves with mere decorativeness degenerating into mannerism and, eventually, work like that of the Affector. It seems almost as though the painter of our deinos had foreseen what was to come and had packed into one vase as much spirited action as he could.

About half the body of the deinos is preserved, mended from many fragments. Its rounded bottom is undecorated and shows scratches and traces of wear from resting on a stand. The interior and the flat, slightly projecting rim are glazed black; the clay is Attic with an orange-pink surface. The entire body of the vase, from the broad black band above the reserved resting surface up to the rim, is decorated.³

Of the three friezes separated by double ground lines, the lowest is a simple animal band; a boar walking left between two facing sirens, and a bull walking right between

¹ Acropolis deinos: E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, fig. 202. Pharsalos fragments: Y. Béguegnon, *Monuments Piot*, XXXIII, 1933, pp. 43 ff. and pl. VI.

² Agora catalogue no. 1712 P 334. Picture in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 466, fig. 17. Measurements: Height, 0.195 m.; greatest diameter, est., 0.342 m. It was found in Section A', in a fill of small stones as from a fallen wall. The other sherds found with it were, in the main, of much the same period, although there was a considerable admixture of geometric. The chipping of the surface is perhaps due to the falling stones. I should like to thank Miss Lucy Talcott for information on its unearthing, as well as for other useful help and criticism.

³ For another deinos similarly treated without ornamental pattern around the rim, cf. London fragment 88—6—1—588, published by Payne and Beazley in *J.H.S.*, 1929, pp. 256 ff., no. 10, and pl. XV, 11.



Fig. 1. Black-figured Deinos

two facing lions. Even in this conventional decorative scheme the love of action is apparent; the bull lowers his head defensively against a lion, unfortunately broken off, who cuffs him with his paw. The animals are characteristic of the period: the first quarter, probably the second decade, of the sixth century. They are lions and sirens rather than panthers and sphinxes; healthy robust creatures rather than elongated space-fillers. The lion with his typically Attic "flame" mane is close to the lions of Payne's *Deianeira*



Fig. 2. Profile of Deinos. Scale 1:2

group.¹ The sirens too, with their hair falling in three pointed locks, are of a common early type. They show, however, a characteristic touch to be observed also in the human figures of the upper friezes: they wear little caps, their ears are covered by their hair, and the tresses are fastened at the nape of the neck by clasps very like the conventionalized ear of the period turned on its side.² All the animals are of usual types; but they have traits that are individual. We note the shoulder incisions of the boars and the bull, which

¹ H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 191 ff.

² That they are little caps and not mere fillets bound around the hair is shown by two figures: the priest whose tresses are red, while the back of his head is left black, and Akastos, whose hair is treated with the same colors, reversed.



Fig. 3. Detail of Deinos

run up to the top of the back, where they are flattened out; and the stylized spirals below their eyes.¹ The very large double-circle eye imparts an expression of sagacity to the siren behind the boar; an expression somewhat belied by the low brow, the elegant coiffure, and the pleased smile of the mouth suggesting that she has just come from the hair-dresser's. In this frieze there is nothing hasty or crude;² animal bands at this period were a matter of routine. The Calydonian boar in the middle frieze is almost exactly like the one in the animal scene below; he is calm and unperturbed, and even wears, although he has but a single-circle eye, the same shrewd expression. There is nothing to be gained by crude drawing in a scene of slow motion; from it we derive a notion of the skill of our painter when he wanted elegant figures rather than vigorous action.

From the uppermost frieze, too, we can see how well he could draw. A long lotus and palmette band fills most of the space; if we may venture on a restoration, we might suggest two such bands, front and back, with small scenes between. In character, the vegetable ornament is very like that of Sophilos,³ though rather less carefully done: plump, heavy lotus flowers and widely opened fan-like palmettes. Distinctive, however, is the variation between the flowers: for example, the changing width of the incised band at the base of the lotus petals. The way in which the floral ornament is sliced down the middle at the ends of the band is unusual. I can find no example of such treatment in a horizontal decorative band of this sort at this period, although a lotus-palmette band used vertically as the border of a panel and so cut in half is not uncommon.⁴

Of the scene to the left of the palmette band there is little preserved; the feet of a man on tiptoe approaching from behind another person in a long dress, who stands contemplating the vegetable forest before her; perhaps a silen sneaking up to surprise an unconscious nymph.

The scene at the other end of the lotus-palmette band, the right edge of which is preserved, is almost complete: a comast scene. Four naked youths hold their revels, two on each side of the great footed amphora which is the centre of attraction. The outer figures left and right brandish drinking horns as they dance in grotesque positions; to the left of the amphora a third plays the double flute; he seems just to have reached a climax in the music, perhaps a shrill finale, so intent is his expression; and the fourth, a fat fellow, holds out a kantharos in his right hand as though arrested in the very act

¹ Purple-red is added: for the sirens, on chests, faces, and inner wing bands; for bull and boar, belly stripes, necks, ribs and haunches; for lion, belly stripe, mane, mouth, ribs and haunch; for all the animals, the pupil of the eye.

² Unless the three spots of purple-red spilled in front of the face of the left-hand siren may be so regarded.

³ Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 202; better in Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1925, pl. 26.

⁴ Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, no. 474, pl. 17. The horizontal band with ends sliced down appears however at a later date on Tyrrhenian amphorae; cf. Louvre E 817; Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1901, pl. 58; also, *C.V.A.*, Louvre, III H d, pl. 1, nos. 4 and 10.

of offering a toast.¹ Comast scenes of this sort are of Corinthian origin; the Attic adaptations of the scene have been discussed by Greifenhagen and, later, by Payne,² who distinguishes at least three hands, with none of which does it seem possible to connect our deinos. The beginning of the sixth century was a period in which Corinthian influence was strong in Attic vase-painting; the comast scene was probably merely a stock scene in the general repertory of the painters, not the specialty of one hand or even one shop. Its use here as a subsidiary scene increases the probability of this suggestion.



Fig. 4

Here we notice for the first time the effectiveness of crude drawing. We have noted above the careful work of which our artist is capable. It is possible that he drew these grotesquely misshapen figures because he knew no better; his training in the elaborate detail of the animal style had provided small preparation for the problems of representing the nude human figure in action. We may, however, compare his method with that of Sophilos on the Pharsalos vase. Sophilos, who must have been his contemporary, seems

¹ Added purple: faces, chests and upper arms, haunches, and a band around the body of the amphora.

² A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im VI. Jahrhundert*, Königsberg, 1929; Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 ff.

almost to have had two styles at his command: the careful restrained style on which he seems to have prided himself, and a rough, sketchy and yet vital style which he used for the subsidiary details in which he was not greatly interested. His little figures on the grandstand are just as crude and grotesque as our comasts and boar hunters, and crude and grotesque in much the same way. It is often difficult to tell the difference between drawing that is merely careless and drawing that is crude because of the archaic ignorance of the painter; and perhaps it is dangerous to assert that any painter at this period was capable of "better" work. But with examples like the Nessos painter and the Gorgon painter who came before, and with the internal evidence of the fine careful detail incision of which our painter was capable, I am tempted to think that he consciously clung to the older style which Sophilos had discarded or relegated to minor details of his scenes. I think he realized that his figures would have more life and vigor if hastily sketched in; their outlines, then, he drew in a rapid impressionistic manner, filling in the detail at leisure in a more careful way. His object was lively movement and he achieved it by quick sketching. It may be objected that all comasts were meant to be somewhat grotesque; but the same method is applied to the figures of the lower frieze, figures in no way intended to be grotesque. The details are carefully done, and done in an individual style: the knee-caps and incisions behind the knees, the chest markings, and the mouths with the short vertical line at their ends are characteristic; again we meet the little caps, and the hair bound by ear-like clasps.

The central frieze, the narrowest but most important, shows parts of three scenes. That to the left is rather hard to explain; a man dressed in a long robe stands, holding a drawn knife in his right hand, facing a great tripod. The nose and forefeet of a galloping horse are preserved at the edge; the scene might be interpreted as one from funeral games: a horse race with a tripod as prize, and a priest about to make ritual sacrifice. The drawn knife in the hand of the priest, however, and the hand on the bridle of the horse, are unusual features. It seems impossible that the hand can be that of a rider; it is tempting to think of a variation on the capture of the unhappy Troilus, with Achilles seizing the bridle of his horse as he flees. But why the tripod, and the waiting priest? The fragmentary condition of the scene seems to render impossible a satisfactory explanation.

To the right we have another group, complete and not uncommon; again reminding us of Sophilos. A hairy silen is engaged in the pursuit of a nymph, who flees to the right, looking back to take aim before she throws the stone she holds in her left hand. The silen is a wild shaggy mountain creature, ithyphallic and snub-nosed like the Lindos silen of Sophilos.¹ His favorite occupation is the pursuit of nymphs: his snub-nose, wildly tangled hair and beard—how unlike the neat pointed horizontal chin-beards of the other figures!—and horse's tail betray his subhuman character. He provides confirmation of

¹ Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindiaka II-IV*, København, 1926, pp. 32 ff.; also *Lindos, Fouilles et Recherches 1902-1914*, Berlin, 1931, no. 2629 and pls. 126, 127.



Fig. 5. Side of Deinos

Blinkenberg's suggestion that the silen was originally a mountain being and only later came to be associated with Dionysos. The shaggy type, with incised hair on the body and a painted fringe, is Ionic; our nearest parallel, however, is on a Chalcidian vase in the Castellani collection.¹ The nymph, as though used to being hunted by silens and always prepared for the worst, wears the short loose dress which facilitates flight; her expression is not especially alarmed.

This mountain scene is a good transition to another, the most important and interesting on the vase: the Calydonian boar hunt. The great boar walks towards the right, attacked from in front and behind. Of an expiring victim lying beneath him, and of the wound in his own throat, from which the blood flows down, he seems to take no notice. Perhaps he relies on the help of Artemis, who sent him to chastise the little men who now attack him.

Of these there are at least five.² To the left a figure in a short dress, whether male or female it is hard to determine, holds in his right hand a stone that he is about to throw; in his left, the leash of a dog. The way in which his dress and the stone in his hand echo those of the nymph behind him implies that he is merely a transitional figure and not Akastos; surely Akastos would not have gone out unarmed to hunt the Calydonian boar, for the destruction of which all the mightiest heroes of an heroic age had been summoned. Let us call him a nameless transitional figure. The man in front, armed with spear and dagger, is Akastos, a regular member of the band that hunted the boar; the dog who leaps up, barking excitedly, to bite with his little red teeth the haunch of the boar, is ΘΕΡΟΝ. Of the first letter of his name only a small curved bit is preserved; another dog, in this case a bitch named ΟΕΡΟ, appears in the Calydonian boar hunt on the Archikles cup.³

Let us for a moment consider our other dog. It is drawn entirely in outline, with eye incised and dotted with red, and incised mouth. The only other dog so drawn that I call to mind is the one under the couch of Herakles on the Eurytios krater;⁴ but its inner details are drawn in black. Incision on the unglazed clay is a unique device; we are led to suspect that our painter drew his dog in outline, and then changed his mind about filling it in, perhaps because he felt that a dog in black crossed by the legs of two figures would confuse their outlines and spoil the effect. He certainly did not intend to fill the

¹ Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, Roma, 1930, no. 419 and pl. XXXVII. Also in A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin, 1925, no. 111, pls. 98, 99. This psykter is, of course, much later than our deinos. Compare also the silens on the Pheneus cup, Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 164.

² On this frieze purple is added for feet, rim, and handle-supports of the tripod; face and hair of the priest; silen, face, chest and upper arms, tail, and phallus; nymph, face, upper chest, and the stone in her hand; boar hunters, faces and chests; eye and teeth of the dog; the boar as the one on the animal frieze below.

³ J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, Paris, 1924, p. 60; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, pl. 2.

⁴ Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 27; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 176.

reserved outline with white, for he nowhere uses white;¹ nor could he have intended to use red, for on none of his animals does he use broad washes of color. Having put in the outline and then thought better of filling it with black, he did the best he could by adding the details as unobtrusively as possible. It seems hardly likely that he was experimenting; incision on the plain surface of the clay is obviously an anomalous procedure. We are tempted to speculate on the possibilities of erasure, and to conclude that it was impossible without either scratching or smearing.

To return to the boar hunt: the figure lying wounded under the boar is as new to mythology as the outline dog to the technique of vase painting. His name, written retro-

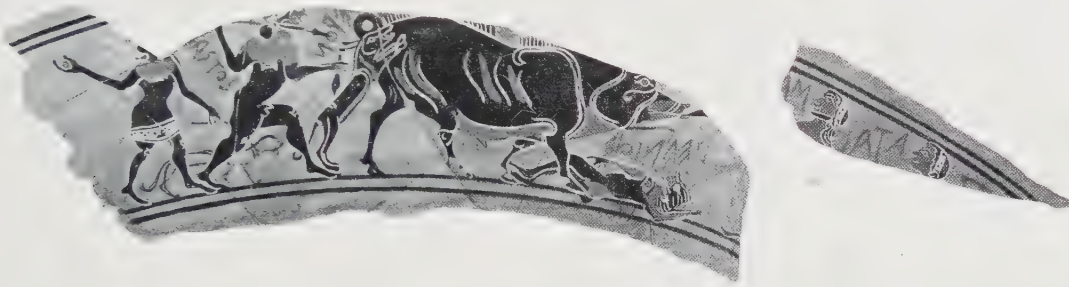


Fig. 6. The Boar Hunt. (From a Water Color by Mary Wyckoff)

grade over his prostrate form, is ΠΕΛΑΙΟΣ. The usual victim of the boar in mythology and vase painting is Ankaios;² Antaios, perhaps due to a mistake, on the François vase. The substitution of another here suggests that our painter was following a different tradition. The etymology of the name is simple enough: Πήλαι-ος, the man from the springs; nothing to do with πηγός, strong, from which Πήγασος³ is usually derived. Πήλαι must have been a common place name in antiquity; but perhaps it is significant that there was a place so named in Arcadia.⁴ Our Πηλαῖος then, may have been a follower of Atalante, the Arcadian huntress. He makes his first appearance in mythology at the very end of his earthly

¹ Although there are many things about this deinos that are very like the work of Sophilos, the absence of white would of itself make it impossible to attribute it to him, for he was very fond of white and used it on every occasion.

² Apollodorus, I, 8; Pausanias, VIII, 45, 2 (the pedimental sculptures of Scopas on the temple at Tegea); Callimachus, *Hymn* III to Artemis 215 ff.; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 379 ff.; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 173 and 174.

³ Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. *Pegasos*.

⁴ Pausanias, VIII, 44, 4; VIII, 53, 3.

career; he lies, completely deflated, beneath the boar, one knee drawn up, and with cross-incised eye—the first use of this common comic-strip device to depict bedazement.

The other characters, with the comast dancers, are on a fragment which does not join directly; its position, however, is made certain by the names of the persons who appear on it. Meleager and Atalante, the chief antagonists of the boar, must naturally be placed in the front rank of its attackers. Only the heads of these two are preserved; of a third, only the first letter of his name *Η-Ηέλενς*, who often appears. Or might it not even be *Ηέλαγον*? Meleager in the foreground is about to give the boar its death-blow; his spear tip is at its very mouth. We may take it that Atalante, in accordance with tradition, has been the first to wound the beast, and that hers is the spear sticking in its chest.

The letters with which the characters are labelled are written in purple-red. The Attic alphabet in its early form is used, much as Sophilos used it, with names written indiscriminately from left to right and retrograde. As many moderns cannot make up their minds which way to write an N, so our painter with his sigmas.

Like most early myths, that of the Calydonian boar hunt has come down to us in an almost hopelessly tangled form. We may perhaps distinguish three versions: an epic, a lyric, and a dramatic. In the Homeric account (*Iliad* IX, 529 ff.), Atalante does not appear at all; and, so far as can be determined from badly preserved fragments, Hesiod seems to have treated the boar hunt and the tale of Atalante's race for the golden apples as entirely different and unrelated episodes (*Hesiod*, fragment 135 and fragments 21–22 respectively, Teubner, ed. Rzach). In the drama the interest has shifted from the boar hunt to the death of Meleager at the hand of his mother, who threw the brand with which his life was tied up into the fire (fragments of plays by Sophocles and Euripides in Nauck², pp. 219 and 523 respectively). We know from vase painting, however, that by the beginning of the sixth century the Atalante and Meleager legends had been contaminated, since Atalante has become a regular member of the band of hunters. There must have been a version current at the time which is lost to us. Athenaeus (III, 95 d) mentions a *Σκοθῆραι* by Stesichorus, which must have embodied in literary form the scene of the boar hunt as we have it in early black figure. It is interesting to note that Ovid mentions a member of the hunt called Pelagon, a name nowhere else connected with the boar hunt, but which appears on a sixth century vase depicting an Amazonomachy (*Monumenti* XII, Tav. IX). Ovid took the name certainly from some literary source, and probably from one very nearly contemporaneous with the vase. There must, however, have been varying versions even in the sixth century, since our Pegaios here replaces the usual Ankaïos as the victim of the boar. We restore the name Meleager although the preserved letters apply just as well to Melanion, the suitor of Atalante who often appears. On the reverse of the Pelagon vase, Melanion appears in a boar hunt in which neither Meleager nor Atalante takes part. We might suggest that in the early sixth century there were many mutually contradictory versions current until order was brought into chaos by a formal literary retelling of the tale by Stesichorus or some other lyric poet; there certainly was a formal source

on which Ovid drew. On the mythology see Kühnert in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2592. s. v. *Meleagros*.

All the figures of the Calydonian boar hunt show the characteristic devices of drawing noted above: the hasty, yet spirited, outline rendering; the little caps and ear-like hair clasps; the vertical line at the ends of mouths; the peculiar chest and knee-cap incisions; the neat, pointed, nearly horizontal beards. We notice too a particular fondness for cross-hatching: on caps and dress borders, and on the lotuses. These characteristics of style point to a very individual painter; a painter who could draw with as much elegance as any when he wanted to, but who realized, and protested against, the danger of too much attention to drawing for its own sake. At a time of change and improvement in technique, he looked back to the more robust tradition of an earlier day.

Our vase, finally, in addition to its own artistic and mythological interest, furnishes remarkable confirmation of Payne's brilliant chronological sketch for early Attic black figure.¹ Here we have, on the same vase, many of the elements which he has already grouped close together in the first quarter of the sixth century: the comasts, the early Vourva style animals, the Deianeira group lion, very nearly the same vegetable ornament as that used by Sophilos. Even the silen's tail is almost a replica of the horses' tails of Acropolis 474 and the Gorgon deinos in the Louvre.² No single vase better illustrates the quality and the variety of Attic vase painting in the first quarter of the sixth century.

¹ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

² Acropolis 474: Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 17; Louvre deinos: *C.V.A.*, III H d, pls. 14-17.

RODNEY S. YOUNG

LATE BYZANTINE PAINTINGS IN THE AGORA

Plates VI and VII

Although the three centuries following the capture of Constantinople fall historically outside the Byzantine period, nevertheless their civilization and art, in Greece at least,



Fig. 1. Church of the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos

were still dominated to such an extent by those of Byzantium that they cannot be ignored if the study of the development and decline of Byzantine art is to be carried to its logical conclusion. Whatever may be said of the quality of the art produced during these cen-

turies, and there would be few to uphold it from the purely artistic point of view, the number of churches with frescoed interiors existing in the neighborhood of Athens testifies to the great activity which marked the period. The absence of valid criteria for dating these monuments has led to considerable confusion, nor can any satisfactory basis of differentiation between sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century work be established until many more dated monuments are assembled and studied.

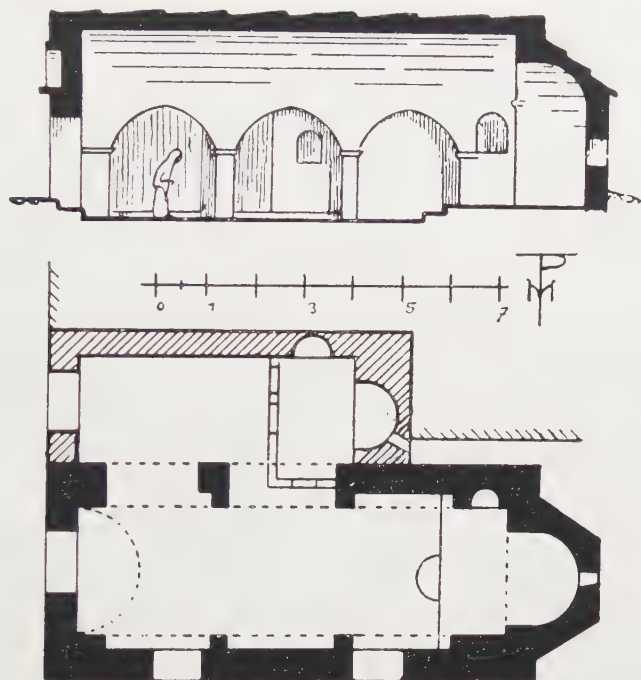


Fig. 2. Church of Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos. Section and Plan

In the area of the Athenian Agora excavated in the season of 1934, on Eponymon Street, stood the small church of the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos, of the unpretentious type commonly erected during the Turkish domination (Figs. 1, 2).¹

The northernmost aisle, dedicated to Saint Charalambos, was a single, wooden-roofed chapel apparently added at a later date to the more substantial barrel-vaulted structure sacred to the Prophet Elias. The interior was completely covered with plaster, but underneath on the south wall of the main section of the church were noticed traces of fresco. The three coats of plaster were removed and before the demolition a water color was made by Piet de Jong of the only painting sufficiently well preserved to admit of repro-

¹ *A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Α'. Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων. Ι. Ἀθηνῶν. Τεύχος Β'. p. 99.* I am indebted to Mr. Xyngopoulos for permission to reproduce the accompanying plan.

duction (Fig. 3). The picture occupied the spandrel between the two easternmost blind arches of the south wall and is of considerable interest in that it provides an example of an unusual iconographic type, and also because on an adjacent face of one of the blocks is an inscription, apparently recording the dedication of the fresco, reading:

1718
 Χριστιοδοῦλος
 Πατοῦσαι (Christian monogram)

In view of the lack of unanimity in the dating of Byzantine painting from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century it is gratifying to find in our fresco a probable example of early eighteenth century work.

It represents the archangel Michael standing with one foot on the prostrate figure of an old man. Saint Michael holds a spear in his right hand, while in his upraised left are traces of an object now obliterated. In the field near the head of the prostrate figure part of an inscription can be read:

φρὺξ
 ψυχῇ
 τὰο

The question then arises as to what scene our picture represents. It is undoubtedly not Saint Michael trampling on Satan, for it seems impossible that so innocuous appearing a figure could have been intended as the devil; moreover the pose of the archangel suggests protection rather than conflict, either present or immediately past. Dionysios of Fournà and the authors of the other Painters' Manuals omit any mention of a scene corresponding to this. The nearest approach is one in which the archangel contends with the devil for the body of Moses, motivated by the ninth verse of the epistle of Jude: "Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, the Lord rebuke thee." Dionysios describes Moses lying on his back, dead, on a mountain, with the devil crouching at his feet and the archangel standing at his head, stretching out his hands towards the devil and threatening him with his sword. This is the only instance in which Dionysios mentions a figure at the feet of the archangel, but the absence of the devil makes one hesitate to accept this interpretation for our scene.

The answer is found in an icon from the Likhacheff Collection¹ and in several in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Fig. 4) and evidently representative of a wide tradition which follow the same model, with minor differences, as the fresco, even to the inscription which is in all cases the same and reads: *φρῖξον ψυχῇ μου τὰ ὀρώμενα*. The substitution of *v* for *ι* in the first word in the fresco is understandable and unimportant.

The archangel of the icons holds in his left hand a small figure wrapped as a mummy after the usual manner of representing a soul, and, considering the similarity of other

¹ Likhacheff, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'iconographie russe*, I, pl. XV.



Fig. 3. Church of Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos. Saint Michael



Fig. 4. Saint Michael. Byzantine Museum, Athens

details, we are probably safe in assuming a like figure in the fresco. According to a long-established tradition, the archangel Michael attends mortals at their death. So in the apocryphal Apocalypse of Moses the Lord delivers Adam to Michael with the charge: "Lift him up into Paradise unto the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning which I will make in the world."¹ And in the Apocryphal Gospel of Joseph the Carpenter Joseph, as death approaches, prays for Michael to accompany him in his passage to the next world, adding the wish that he might attend his soul and body *until they are separated from each other*.² It seems certain therefore that the prostrate figure represents the dead in general, while Michael, having safely delivered the soul from the body, prepares to conduct it to its heavenly home. The inscription is not, as one might suppose, derived from the liturgies or other ecclesiastical writings but is a popular motto and refers to the dread of the soul as it approaches death and the Judgment Day.³

On the pier which supported the fresco was painted a conventional curtain decorated with horizontal bands and various other patterns. Throughout the church the piers are surmounted by re-used capitals of the usual Byzantine type, carved with crosses, acanthus leaves, etc.

On the wall of the central arch was a painting in a very bad state of preservation but the composition of which could be made out quite clearly. Against a background divided horizontally into three sections as in the Saint Michael fresco stood three figures, frontal, nimbed, with the right hand raised in blessing and the left holding a book; all wore bishops' vestments. The central figure, which stood a little higher than the others, measured 1.36 m. and the letters NIKO beside his head identified him as Saint Nicholas, probably the great Saint Nicholas, Bishop of Myra. Traces of inscriptions remained beside the other figures but not enough to identify either. The composition differed from the customary row of ecclesiastical saints in the presence in the upper band of the background of half-figures, apparently of Christ and the Virgin Mary, flanking the head of Saint Nicholas. Christ wore a crossed nimbus and carried a book. The faces of all the figures had been gouged out and carelessly filled with plaster.

The soffits of at least three of the arches were decorated with a scroll rinceau in varying shades of red on a buff ground. There were traces of color on the wall of the easternmost arch, but at a late period a window was cut through and whatever painting there may have been was destroyed.

No other paintings remained in the church except for a very inferior Deesis of a recent period in a niche in the north wall behind the iconostasis and a much mutilated bust of Christ below the modern plaster in a niche over the door on the outside.

¹ R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), II, 151.

² *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, ed. Ioan. Carol. Thilo (Leipzig, 1832), pp. 23 ff. These references were provided me by Mrs. Grace B. Hollis of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University.

³ My thanks are due to Mr. G. Sotiriou, Director of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, for the source of the inscription as well as for permission to publish photographs of two icons in the Byzantine Museum.

THE CHURCH OF SAINT SPIRIDON

At the south end of the Stoa of Attalus stands the private chapel of Saint Spiridon,¹ another small church of the same unimposing appearance as that of the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos (Figs. 5, 6). Now on an isolated mound among the excavations to the south of the Stoa of Attalus, it was formerly enclosed in the courtyard of no. 16 Eurysakion



Fig. 5. Church of Saint Spiridon

Street and existed as a dependency of the church of the Holy Apostles. Repairs to the interior have cut off the original barrel-vaulted roof and the greater length of the church is now covered with a flat ceiling. The single aisle is terminated by an apse which is masked on the exterior by a diagonal wall.

The interior of the church is decorated on the south and east walls by frescoes of considerable interest. The lower parts have suffered much from damp and have been extensively replastered and repainted, but the rest, although in some cases mutilated, is

¹ Ξυγγόπουλος, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

untouched by the restorer. The accompanying reproductions are taken from the water colors by Piet de Jong.

The Annunciation occupies the east wall above the apse and the composition is cut in two by a small window below which is the *Ἀχειροποιήτα* (Figs. 7, 8, 9). The Virgin Mary, inscribed ΜΡ ΘΥ stands before a jewelled throne, and against the black background can be read the title of the scene: ΟΕΥ[αγγελισμός] Ή[ς] [Θεο]ΤΟ[χου].

The south wall is decorated for its entire length with frescoes. High up on the wall behind the iconostasis is the best preserved panel of the series (Plate VI), containing the figures of Saints Blasios and Eleutherios, a decorative pair in bishops' vestments. Saint Blasios raises his right hand in the gesture of the Greek blessing and in his left carries a scroll inscribed *χάριτι καὶ οὐκτιμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου*, an abbreviation of one of the last exclamations by the priest before the communion in the liturgy of Saint Basil and the dependent liturgies.¹ Saint Eleutherios also raises his hand in blessing and carries a scroll whose inscription is derived from the liturgy. It reads: *καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος* and occurs as a benediction at the end of the intercession, the complete phrase being *καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν*.² Both inscriptions seem to have been taken without particular significance for the saint in question. It is unfortunate that Dionysios of Fournia in dealing with the inscriptions on the scrolls carried by saints makes no mention of those of Saint Blasios and Saint Eleutherios. Such variety exists in the scrolls that identity or lack of it of our inscriptions with those prescribed by Dionysios might be a slight indication of how far the Athonite tradition of painting was followed in Attica.

In this connection it is interesting to compare our frescoes with the rules of representation as laid down by Dionysios. Since his date is now generally conceded to have been not earlier than the eighteenth century there is of course no question of dependence on Dionysios himself, but his work is based in such detail on the earlier manuals that it may be taken as a summary of the old tradition. It may be noted that in general the facial characteristics follow closely the prescriptions of the manuals but that the iconography is unaffected by them.

The south wall in front of the iconostasis is decorated by a continuous series of panels, at a lower level than the preceding, surmounted by a border of half figures of saints in medallions separated from one another by a floral ornament (Plate VII). Some traces of color remain on the blank space 1.10 m. high between the floor and the frescoes, but the small amount of original plaster surviving here makes it impossible to say whether or not any such decoration as the conventional curtain motive ever existed.

The first panel in the lower register is too badly mutilated for reproduction. It contains the standing figure of Saint John the Baptist, nimbed and winged. Only the

¹ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I, *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 341, 350.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 337, 390.



Church of Saint Spiridon. Saints Blasios and Eleutherios



Fig. 7. Church of Saint Spiridon. Angel from the Annunciation

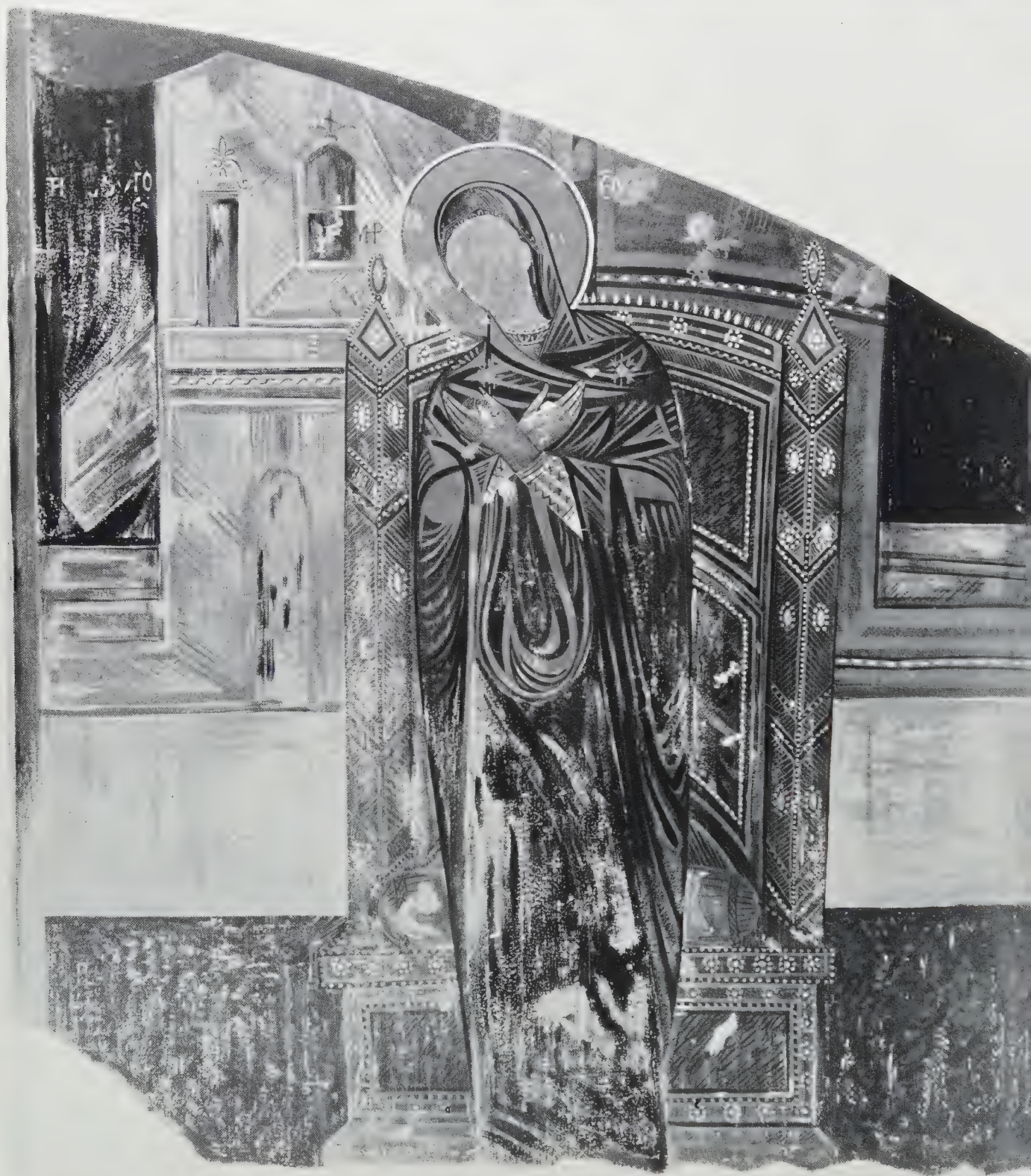


Fig. 8. Church of Saint Spiridon. Virgin Mary from the Annunciation

upper third of the figure is the original painting and it is much defaced, the lower having been repainted at least once. The inscription is partly legible: 'Ο ΑΓΙΩ 'Ο Π[ροδρομος]. The face and arms are entirely obliterated but the latter seem to have been bent as if holding some object, probably the head of the saint on a charger or a scroll, perhaps both. The winged John the Baptist is a common representation in late Byzantine art although no mention of wings is made in any of the Painters' Manuals. It is evidently with reference to his function as messenger (ἄγγελος) of the Lord that he is thus depicted,



Fig. 9. Church of Saint Spiridon. Head of Christ

and it is an exclusively Eastern representation, the conception of the Prodromos as an angel having been refuted for the Western church by Cyril of Alexandria.¹ Only one example has been noted previous to the sixteenth century, a reliquary of Eastern origin in existence at Perpignan in the thirteenth century.² In the sixteenth century and later the type is common. The absence of the winged John the Baptist in the Painters' Manuals is perhaps a further indication that these derived their rules from an earlier rather than a current tradition.

¹ Walter Haring, "The Winged Saint John the Baptist: Two Examples in American Collections," *Art Bulletin*, 5 (1922-23), 35 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.

In the next panel is one of the most famous saints of the Greek church, Nicholas, Bishop of Myra (Fig. 10). His name is inscribed plainly, but even without the inscription he would be easily recognizable from the close resemblance to many other frescoes and icons with his likeness.¹ He carries in his left hand a closed book; with his right he blesses. His vestments are less well preserved than those of Saint Blasios and Saint Eleutherios, but a fragment on the left shoulder shows the same pattern as that used for Saint Blasios but in different colors, in this case black on a reddish ground. It seems likely that the omophorion was decorated with crosses but no traces of these remain. The lower third of the figure has been repainted in duller colors.

The number of ecclesiastical saints is completed by Saint Spiridon, Bishop of Tremithon, for whom the church was named (Fig. 11). This is the best preserved panel in the lower register, only a little of the lower part having been repainted. The saint wears the knitted cap prescribed by Dionysios, without which he is rarely seen either in frescoes or icons, and the figure bears a general resemblance to the famous icon of Saint Spiridon painted in 1636 by the Cretan painter Emmanuel Zane, although the latter is the work of a considerably more skilled artist.

Our painter proceeds to the representation of monastic saints; first one of the great ascetics of the early church, Antonios the Great (Fig. 12). His type is well established since he is one of the most frequently appearing saints of the calendar and the fresco departs in no important detail from the usual formula.

Although the Spiridon painter leaves something to be desired from the point of view of style, in the matter of content he shows some interesting variations from the common types. The outstanding example of this is in the picture of the next monastic saint, Simeon Stylites (Fig. 13). Like the other stylite saints Simeon is usually depicted seated in a roomy fenced enclosure on the top of a Corinthian column, as in the sixteenth century frescoes in the monastery of Dochiariou on Mount Athos,² in the painting in the narthex of the church at Megaspelaion, recently destroyed by fire, and in many icons in the Byzantine Museum in Athens and elsewhere. The authors of the manuals make no mention of the column beyond the inclusion of Simeon among the stylite saints, adding the personal description of "an old man with a short beard divided in two parts," and in one case, "with black hair." It is obvious then that we are dealing with a different tradition. In the first place Simeon wears a very long pointed beard and his hair is grey; but more important is the column and his relation to it. The capital instead of being Corinthian is decorated in the centre with a trefoil from which spring laterally two volutes, while the abacus is transformed into a hexagonal parapet. The saint, dressed in a red and yellow worsted shirt, seems to be standing within the capital, while his right leg hangs down in rather uncertain relation to the rest of the picture. This attitude is evidently intended to represent Saint Simeon in his self-imposed penance of

¹ Cf. Likhacheff, *op. cit.*, I, pls. CLXI–CLXV.

² G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, I, *Les Peintures* (Paris, 1927), pl. 239.



Fig. 10. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Nicholas



Fig. 11. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Spiridon



Fig. 12. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Antonios



Fig. 13. Church of Saint Spiridon.
Saint Simeon Stylites

standing on one leg for a year in consequence of nearly yielding to a temptation of the devil. The devil came to him in the guise of an angel of the Lord in a chariot of fire to take him to heaven. As Simeon, deceived by the apparition, was about to enter the chariot he made the sign of the cross as a blessing for his departure, whereupon the vision vanished. In the ensuing penance the saint's leg festered, as is graphically described in the various accounts of his life, and the small curly white lines which are seen hanging from his right foot may be intended merely to indicate this state, as in several of the Job manuscripts, or, more probably, they represent the actual worms which were said to collect in his sores and when picked up by the bystanders to effect many miracles. One other example of such a type as ours appears in a much mutilated fresco in the small ruined church at Kalavryta beyond the monastery of the Hagia Lavra, which seems to date from about the same period as our fresco, but the story had very little effect on the customary portrayal of Saint Simeon.

That Byzantine iconography was at this period dependent on current popular legend rather than on the soberer early accounts is evident from the next panel which shows Saint Demetrios on horseback, riding away from the slaughter of the gladiator Lyaïos who lies prostrate on the ground (Fig. 14). The equestrian saint, so common in the later period, is actually extraneous to Byzantine art, having been imported only at a very late date.¹ Even Dionysios puts

¹ The only mounted Saint Demetrios on record in the Index of Christian Art at Princeton is on a Coptic woodcarving from Abou Sargah with two



Fig. 14. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Demetrios

none of his saints on horseback although many such representations existed in his time. The type of Demetrios slaying Lyaaios is interesting since, although so widespread in art, it has no foundation in legend. According to the life of Saint Demetrios as compiled by Simeon Metaphrastes,¹ the saint was imprisoned in Thessalonica at the time when the emperor Maximianos offered rich rewards to anyone who should conquer his undefeated gladiator Lyaaios. A young man named Nestor volunteered and, invoking the blessing of Demetrios, entered the arena and killed Lyaaios. The emperor, angered at losing his favorite gladiator, instead of giving the promised rewards ordered both Nestor and Demetrios to be put to death. But it is always Demetrios who is represented as killing Lyaaios, never Nestor. A reason for this is suggested in the life of Demetrios probably written by Simeon Metaphrastes himself, in which Nestor is described as entering the contest because he had witnessed many miracles of Demetrios and hoped that another might be added.² It is clear then that in the legend Nestor is considered to have played only a minor part, and that the credit is due to Demetrios. Another inconsistency is in the fact that although Nestor presumably entered the arena on foot, Demetrios, when slaying Lyaaios, is always portrayed mounted.

So far the fresco conforms to the usual representation of the mounted Saint Demetrios. But a disturbing factor is found in the presence of a small figure, much mutilated, riding behind Demetrios. Again Dionysios fails to provide a clue to its identity, but two or three icons in the Byzantine Museum in Athens show Saint Demetrios on horseback with a small figure in ecclesiastical attire riding behind (Fig. 15). The essence of the legend which the picture illustrates is found in the second book of the miracles of Saint Demetrios, of unknown authorship but probably dating from the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century,³ wherein it is recounted how a certain African bishop named Cyprianus was captured by barbarians, taken to their land and made to do the most menial tasks. Praying to Saint Demetrios to rescue him, he was visited in his sleep by a vision of the saint, on horseback, who commanded the bishop to follow him. Instantly the chains with which he was bound were loosed and he followed the saint. It will be noted that no mention is made of the bishop mounting Saint Demetrios' horse. In the course of time however the tale has acquired considerable embellishment and it is the later version as it exists at the present day in the booklets of the lives of the saints in general circulation that the fresco and the icons illustrate. According to this legend, Cyprianus while travelling on a ship to Alexandria was captured with his fellow travellers by pirates and sold into slavery in the East. After suffering many ills and

other equestrian saints. No names are inscribed. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, II, 2, col. 1559.

¹ Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae*, 116, pp. 1167 ff.

² " - - - τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ὑπερήφανον Λυαίου μισήσας, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μέγιστος γινόμενα θαύματα κατιδὼν - - - - - ἔν δὲ τοῦτο θελήσας γενέσθαι τῶν Δημητρίου θαυμάτων, τὸ ταῖς ἐνχαῖς ἐκείνου καθοπλισθέντα λῦσαι τε Λυαίου τὸ θρόνος καὶ τὴν ὄφρυν αὐτὸν τοῦ βαρβάρου καταβαλεῖν."

³ Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae*, 116, pp. 1377 ff.

invoking the aid of Saint Demetrios he was visited one night by the saint in armor, mounted on a red horse, to whom he enumerated his woes. Here the saint's commands are more explicit than in the earlier version. "Come," he says, "and get on my horse behind me"; the bishop does so and miraculously they find themselves on horseback outside the castle in Thessalonica. The relative smallness of the bishop in all the pictures



Fig. 15. Saint Demetrios. Byzantine Museum, Athens

is explained by the fact that the incident took place after the martyrdom of the saint, hence he appears as a supernatural being. The contradictory and irrelevant presence of the gladiator Lyaïos is probably due to the fact that he had by this time become merely an attribute which would distinguish Demetrios from other equestrian saints, leading to his appearance even when unmotivated by the story.

A distinguishing attribute was perhaps especially desirable since the type of the equestrian Saint George developed along similar lines, and doubtless not independently.

Normally represented like Saint Demetrios, but with the dragon substituted for the gladiator, he, far more often than Saint Demetrios, is found with a small figure riding on the horse behind him. One of the many examples of this type is in a fresco in the small church of Saint John Pelikas in the village of Amarousi, near Athens (Fig. 16), and another in a nearly identical fresco, but less well preserved, in the church of



Fig. 16. Church of Saint John Pelikas, Amarousi.
Saint George

Saint Demetrios, also in Amarousi, signed by the priest Demetrios and dated in the year 1622. It is also very frequent on icons. The figure behind Saint George invariably carries some kind of vessel, usually a ewer. Again the interpretation is to be found in a current legend. During an invasion of Bulgarians, Scythians and other barbarian tribes into Paphlagonia a young soldier named for Saint George and devoted to his service was captured and taken to Bulgaria, where he was made servant to the ruler. On the evening of Saint George's festival, as he was carrying water to the ruler, he was met on the stairs by the saint himself, mounted on a white horse, who, in the same words used

by Saint Demetrios to the bishop, told him to get on the horse behind him, and immediately he found himself in front of his house in Paphlagonia. The ewer which he still carried was taken to the church of Saint George where it was dedicated to use on the altar. Its invariable presence in the hand of the figure on the horse is an instance of the detail in which the legend was followed, as is the choice of colors for the horses, Saint George's being almost always white and that of Saint Demetrios red.

The last three panels of the lower register are devoted to women saints, the first of whom is Barbara, standing crowned and orant, holding the martyr's cross (Fig. 17). She wears a red cloak over a blue tunic. The Painters' Manuals give no directions for the representation of the women beyond listing them in certain categories. For example, Saint Barbara occurs in Dionysios of Fournia under the martyrs, in the *Βιβλίον τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* under the *Ἀνάγκυροι*, in the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ναοῦ* under the *ἀθλοφόροι* and the "*ὀνόματα ἁγίων γυναικῶν*."

Next to Barbara stands Saint Paraskeve of Chalkis, likewise orant and carrying the martyr's cross (Fig. 18). Her cloak and her veil are plum colored, her tunic buff.

The series ends with Saint Kyriake, standing, as the two preceding, nimbed, orant and carrying the martyr's cross (Fig. 19). Her veil is red, her cloak blue and her tunic chiefly red. Both Paraskeve and Kyriake are listed by Dionysios among the martyrs and in the *Βιβλίον τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* under the *Ἀνάγκυροι*, with the addition in the case of Paraskeve of a section entitled the "*μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς*." Both are cited by the author of the *Ἑρμηνεῖα περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἱστορίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας* among the *ἅγαι μεγαλομάρτυρες γυναῖκες* and in the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ναοῦ* among the *ἀθλοφόροι*. Repairs to the west wall have cut off the border of the last panel.

The border above the main body of frescoes consists of half figures of eight saints in medallions separated by a conventionalized floral ornament. The series begins at the east end with Prokopios who was martyred during the persecution by Diocletian and Maximianus. He holds the martyr's cross, is young and beardless as described in the manuals. Triphon, a third century martyr, follows him, likewise representing the same tradition as the manuals in being young and beardless. He is orant.

The third saint, Nicholas with the epithet *ὁ νέος*, is the only one in the church not mentioned by Dionysios. He is a young beardless man in military costume and holds the martyr's cross. A Nicholas *ὁ νέος* is found on the soffit of one of the arches supporting the dome of the church of Hosios Loukas in Stiris, and in the publication of that church is tentatively identified with Saint Nicholas of Pinara.¹

Nicholas is followed by Eustathios, inscribed *ὁ πλακῆδας*. This identifies him with the Saint Eustathios or Eustratios who, under the name of Placidus, was master of the militia under Trajan. He was converted to Christianity during the chase by the appearance of the Saviour in the form of a stag and was later martyred at Rome. Dionysios describes

¹ R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis, and the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, near Skripou, in Boeotia*, London, 1901, p. 61, note 2.



Fig. 17. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Barbara



Fig. 18. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Paraskeve



Fig. 19. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Kyriake

him among the *ἐγιοι μάστιγες* as having mixed grey hair and a round beard, a description which fits the fresco as well. As in the case of a number of the other figures the martyr's cross in his right hand seems to have been added as an after-thought to a figure already represented orant.

Next to Eustathios is Elpidophoros of Persia, martyred in the fourth century together with Saint Anempodistos, with whom he often appears. In one passage Dionysios describes him as young and beardless, in another as having a short beard, as we find him in the painting.

The series continues with Saint Diomedes, a fourth century martyr of Bithynia with a pointed beard as prescribed by the manuals.

In the case of Saint Niketas (Fig. 20) a very definite connection with Dionysios and his models may be observed. Dionysios' requirement is "*ὅμοιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ εἶδος*," and the resemblance to the Christ-type is very noticeable. This was a well established type for Niketas; one of the many examples may be seen in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos¹ and it is also recurrent on icons.

The series closes with Saint Anempodistos of Persia, separated by two medallions from his co-martyr Elpidophoros. Anempodistos is represented as young and beardless according to the tradition of the manuals. The repairs to the west wall have cut off the right side of the medallion.

There is no external evidence for the dating of the frescoes. The ground in front of the door in the north side of the church was cleared to a depth of 0.50 m. below the present threshold and part of the original paved entrance to the church laid bare. It was not however possible to date this paving. There is a general similarity of style between the frescoes of Saint Spiridon and those of the Prophet Elias, but too little survived of the latter to make a detailed comparison possible. The decadence of the painting of Saint Demetrios (Fig. 14) as compared with the Saint George of Saint John Pelikas (Fig. 16) suggests a considerably later date for the former. There is also noticeable in the heads of some of the other Amarousi frescoes a tendency toward the fattening of the face which was carried to such an extreme in the Spiridon frescoes (Fig. 21). If we date Saint John Pelikas, because of its close kinship with the dated church of Saint Demetrios in Amarousi, in or about the first quarter of the seventeenth century, then the Spiridon frescoes, because of their relationship to these and to the paintings of the Prophet Elias, would most naturally fall in the period around 1700.

Returning to the question of the relation of our frescoes to the Painters' Manuals, in view of the wide discrepancies to be observed between the two it is impossible to assume any close connection. The silence of Dionysios and his predecessors on the subject of the winged John the Baptist, the mounted Saint Demetrios, the legend of the bishop's deliverance, the penance of Saint Simeon, and Saint Michael as guardian of the souls of the

¹ Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, I, pl. 83.



Fig. 20. Church of Saint Spiridon. Saint Niketas



Church of Saint Spiridon. Frescoes on the South Wall

dead completely offsets the general similarity of facial characteristics which is more convincingly explained by an early establishment of types and their subsequent persistence.



Fig. 21. Church of Saint John Pelikas, Amarousi. Detail of Fresco

We are dealing with an art which in style of necessity followed the old tradition, outworn as it was, but in iconography derived its rules not from prescriptions handed down for generations, but from the changing taste and emphasis of popular belief.

ALISON FRANTZ

THOLOS AND PRYTANIKON

I.

Athenian decrees of the third and second centuries B.C. honoring the members and officers of a prytany close with the stipulation that they were to be inscribed on stone stelai and set up in the Prytanikon: *στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ*.¹ The Prytanikon is known to us only from this formula and its identity and location have long puzzled topographers. Koehler² suggested (rightly as we shall see, but without adequate proof) that the Prytanikon was the Tholos and the region about it. This view was accepted by Wachsmuth.³ Judeich, however, identifies it with the later Prytaneion which he places on the northeast slope of the Acropolis.⁴

¹ In a forthcoming number of *Hesperia*, Mr. Sterling Dow will publish the prytany decrees found in the Agora excavations and will discuss all the Athenian inscriptions of this type. He will show that down to the middle of the second century B.C. the formula *στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ* either occurs or may be restored with certainty in all prytany decrees. After this time the place of setting up varies. In *I.G.*, II², 972 of about 140 B.C., the formula at the end is irregular and no restoration can be suggested. *Στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ*, however, is not admissible. *I.G.*, II², 977 of 134/3(?) specifies *οὗ ἂν ἐπιμήθειον εἶναι φαίνεται* (cf. also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 163, no. 9 of 125/4). *I.G.*, II², 1003 and 1004 of 125/4 and 122/1 were found on the Acropolis. In the latter *στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ* has been restored, perhaps incorrectly, for I hope to show that the Prytanikon was in the Agora. If the restoration is correct, then we must assume that this inscription (and probably also its mate, 1003) was carried up from the lower city to the Acropolis as building material. In *I.G.*, II², 1049 and 1050 of the middle of the first century B.C., *ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ* is prescribed. This change in the place of setting up of prytany decrees was perhaps occasioned by the great building activity in the Agora about the middle of the second century and in particular by the building of the great "south stoa" which so narrowed the southwest entrance to the market square that it may have seemed inadvisable to set up other monuments there. I am indebted to Mr. Dow for much helpful information about decrees of this type, and especially for giving me access to his provisional list of the Agora examples. Dr. Homer A. Thompson has also made some suggestions.

² *Hermes*, V, 1871, p. 340.

³ *Die Stadt Athen*, II, p. 315.

⁴ *Topographie von Athen*², p. 304, note 7. His view (p. 297) that the Prytaneion seen by Pausanias (I, 18, 3 and I, 20, 1) was a Hellenistic building and was located on the northeast slope of the Acropolis, and that the earlier Prytaneion was in or near the "old Agora," seems quite unfounded. It is a modification of a theory originally proposed by Curtius (cf. p. 297, note 1) and is an attempt to reconcile the facts that, whereas one would expect to find the Prytaneion in or near the market, Pausanias actually saw it on the north slope of the Acropolis as he was on his way to the eastern parts of the city. If, however, we place the Prytaneion somewhere on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, not too high up, we satisfy both these requirements, as well as the far more important one that the Prytaneion—the city hearth—be a fixed point. Doro Levi has stated the case for a single Prytaneion at some length in *Annuario*, 6–7, 1926, pp. 4–7, but Judeich seems to consider his reasons insufficient.

Another point which has caused trouble is the apparent confusion among lexicographers and scholiasts between the Tholos and the Prytaneion,¹ although it is clear from Pausanias that the two were quite distinct and were separated from each other by no little distance. He saw the Tholos near the southwest corner of the Agora, where it has recently been discovered, and the Prytaneion somewhere on the northwest slope of the Acropolis below the Aglaurion.² Lexicographers, however, identify the two.

Let us examine the passages in which the two are confused. Timaeus in his *Lexicon Platonicum* defines the word Tholos thus:³ *θόλος οἶκος περιφερέης, ἐν ᾧ οἱ πρυτάνεις συν-εισιῶντο: πρυτανεῖον δὲ ὠνόμασται, ἐπεὶ πυρῶν ἦν ταμιεῖον.* He states definitely that the Tholos was also called Prytaneion, a statement which one finds it hard to believe. It may be that he too saw the difficulty and added by way of explanation the words *ἐπεὶ πυρῶν ἦν ταμιεῖον*.⁴ Timaeus' definition is repeated almost word for word by Photios and Suidas.⁵ Hesychios among his definitions of the word *σκιάς* says *καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον*.⁶ Finally the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* 1183 gives the location of the statues of the Eponymous Heroes as *τόπος Ἀθήνησιν παρὰ πρυτανεῖον* whereas it is quite clear from Pausanias⁷ that they were near the Tholos not the Prytaneion.

Modern writers have treated this confusion between Tholos and Prytaneion in a variety of ways. Some have accepted the passages and have concluded that the Prytaneion at Athens was a round building. Others, seeing the difficulties, have sought to explain them, but none of the explanations offered is really satisfactory, and the problem remains. No one has seen that the key to the situation is the rare word *πρυτανικόν* which if substituted for *πρυτανεῖον* in the above passages clears up the difficulties at once. We now have the lexicographers telling us that the Tholos, or Skias, was also called the *Prytanikon*, a name that is eminently suitable for the building that was the headquarters of the prytanes;⁸ and the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* 1183 now gives us some real information, namely that the statues of the Eponymous Heroes stood near the Prytanikon or Tholos.

It is easy to see how the mistake arose. Every Greek city-state had its Prytaneion and the lexicographers were well acquainted with the word. They did not, however, know

¹ Most recently it has troubled J. Charbonneaux, *B.C.H.*, 1925, pp. 158 ff., and Doro Levi, *Annuario*, 6-7, 1926, pp. 1 ff.

² The Tholos, *Paus.* I, 5, 1. The Prytaneion, cf. p. 470, note 4. For the Tholos and all other Agora buildings mentioned in this paper see pp. 343 ff. of this number of *Hesperia*. Cf. also Karo in *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, pp. 126 ff.

³ The text of Timaeus' *Lexicon* is published in Hermann's edition of Plato, Vol. VI, pp. 397 ff. (Leipzig, 1877-1880).

⁴ Cf. Charbonneaux, *l. c.*, pp. 161-2.

⁵ Photios, *Λέξεις s. v. θόλος*, 1; Suidas, *Lexicon*, *s. v. θόλος*, 1.

⁶ Hesychios, *Lexicon*, *s. v. σκιάς*. *Σκιάς* was another name for the Tholos (Ammonios, quoted by Harpocration, *Lexicon*, *s. v. θόλος*); Photios and Suidas, *s. v. σκιάς*; cf. also *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s. v. σκιάς*.

⁷ I, 5, 1. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 53, 4 places them in front of the Bouleuterion, which was near the Tholos (Pausanias, *l. c.*).

⁸ The words *ἐπεὶ πυρῶν ἦν ταμιεῖον* in Timaeus, Photios, and Suidas become superfluous.

the word *πρυτανικόν*, which seems to have been peculiar to Athens, and so they changed it, whether deliberately or through carelessness, to *πρυτανεῖον*. This change, once made, would hardly be corrected.

II.

Thus from literary sources we can make a fairly good case for the identity of Tholos and Prytanikon. Let us see if the finding places of the prytany decrees bear this out. It has frequently been observed that unless an inscription is found actually *in situ* or can be assigned on architectural grounds to a near-by building it is dangerous to argue that its finding place is also the place where it was originally set up. This is true in general, but the circumstances under which the stone was found may alter the case.

Inscriptions found in modern walls, or indeed in walls of any period, can lay but little claim to being near their original location, for they have obviously been selected by someone because of their suitability as building material and have been transported, who can say whether five metres or five hundred, from the place where they were found to the place where the wall was being built. The case of inscriptions found lying in earth fill, however, is different, and if this fill be that which accumulated shortly after the destruction of the site at the close of the classical period, then the chances that the inscription is still near where it once stood are fairly good. And, finally, if a number of inscriptions of a given type be found in a fairly limited area, some pieces actually coming from the earliest destruction fill, then one may say with some confidence that they were once set up in that neighborhood.

With these points in mind, let us look into the finding places of prytany decrees of the third and the first half of the second centuries B.C., those, that is, that were to be set up in the Prytanikon. The inscriptions of this group published in the *Corpus* are for the most part chance finds and have come to light in the course of modern building operations.¹ One would therefore not expect their proveniences to be especially significant. Yet it is worth noting that, even in the case of these, the great majority come from the region between the "Theseion" and the Tower of the Winds.² It was this fact that led Koehler to place the Prytanikon somewhere in the Agora, and of the buildings there he thought that it was most likely to be connected with the Tholos. And this fact, alone, as Kirchner has pointed out,³ is enough to dissociate the Prytanikon from a Prytaneion on the northeast slope of the Acropolis.

¹ They are as follows: *I.G.*, II², 674, 678, 702, 790, 832, 848, 864, 890, 899, 902, 910, 912 through 921, 952 (967), and (989).

² Many come from along the line of the western part of the so-called "Valerian" Wall (*Judeich*², pp. 108 and 165; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 307 and 541). This part of the wall, which passes near the Church of Hypapanti, the Psomas house, the Stoa of Attalos, and the Church of the Panagia Pyrgiotissa so often mentioned as the finding places, was built largely of ancient material, much of which probably came from the Agora.

³ *Klio*, 8, 1908, p. 488.

In the course of the Agora excavations over forty new prytany decrees and fragments have been found.¹ The provenience of all these is known precisely. Twelve come from Section B, twelve from Section Z, five from Section E, three from Section OE,² three from Section H, two from Section I³ and one each from Sections Γ, ΣT, Α, Μ, Ν and Ξ. A glance at the plan on page 312 of this number of *Hesperia* will show that the sections from which the largest number of prytany decrees come are near the southwest corner of the Agora. Here, too, is the Tholos, its porch in Section Z, the main circular part of the building in Section B.

I shall not attempt to review in detail the proveniences of all the Agora prytany decrees, for many of them, like those found hitherto and published in the *Corpus*, may be



Fig. 1

classed as chance finds since they come from modern or medieval walls.⁴ I shall select a few only the circumstances of the finding of which seem especially significant, referring to them by their Agora catalogue numbers.

¹ Here and below I give only approximate figures, for at present it is not possible to say certainly how many separate decrees are represented by the numerous small fragments found. Many certainly will belong together, and a number have already been so grouped. Such groups I have counted as one. Further study will doubtless reveal other combinations. It is probable too that among the more than twenty-eight hundred inscriptions which now make up the Agora collection, there are fragments of prytany decrees as yet unrecognized.

² OE = Old Excavation. These three inscriptions were found during the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society on the east slope of the Kolonos Agoraios (*Judeich*³, pp. 331 ff.), were published by Professor Oikonomos, and now appear in the *Corpus* as *I.G.*, II², 674, 913, and 918.

³ Of one of these (I 431 = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 61, no. 50) two more fragments were found recently in a modern house in Section II.

⁴ These include all the pieces from Sections ΣT, I, Α, Μ, Ν, Ξ, and II.

I 1024 is the lower part of a stele which is still leaded into its base (Figs. 1 and 2; preserved height, including base 0.99 m.). It was found lying under a hard-packed fill of late Roman times about twenty metres northeast of the Tholos, in front of the small propylon of the Bouleuterion, on the east side of the great drain which passes through this part of the Agora.¹ Stele and base together form a heavy and awkward mass which could scarcely have been moved far from its original position.



Fig. 2. I 1024

I 787 is the upper part of a stele—preserved height 0.58 m., width 0.375 m.—which was found lying in late Roman fill eight metres east of the Tholos. It is broken below, and the edges of the gable top are somewhat damaged but it shows no signs of ever having been used as building material.

I 625, I 811, I 818 and I 820 are four small to medium sized fragments, all parts of the same stele, the first two being actually contiguous. They were found in late Roman fill directly in front of the Tholos.

I 247 (= *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 31, no. 21) is a stele of which seven (*l. c.*, p. 35) joining fragments have been found. Although the fragments were found in the wall of a modern house, it is to be noted that this house had a very deep cellar, which reached down well into late Roman fill. It seems, therefore, quite possible that the diggers of the cellar found the stele lying more or less intact in the fill and that they broke it up for use in their walls. The east wall of this cellar still stands supporting the modern Eponymon

Street. When it is finally removed other fragments of the stele may well be found. The mid-point of the cellar is about twenty-three metres east of the Tholos, and several metres east of the great drain.

I 656 and 1057 are two smallish fragments from different stelai. They come from late Roman fill ten and two metres respectively east of the Tholos. I 1029 comes from the gravel fill of the great drain (late Roman) fifteen metres east of the Tholos.

The above-mentioned inscriptions are all from Section Z, that is, from the region directly in front of the Tholos. Those from Section B, equal in point of number to the Z

¹ On the great drain see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 103 and *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 306.

pieces, come in no case from late Roman fill, all having been found in walls or in medieval fill. Their number, however, and the fact that most of them come from the northern half of the section, suggest that the place of setting up was not far off. Two of them, I 1462 and I 1860, come from the retaining wall on the south and west sides of the court of the Bouleuterion, immediately behind the Tholos. This wall appears to have been built shortly after Sulla's sack of Athens in 86 B.C. It is made almost entirely of second-hand material—big blocks, statues, inscriptions, etc.—bonded together with a rather weak, sandy mortar. Much of this material must have been available on the spot.¹

Mention must also be made of two complete stelai, containing prytany decrees, which were re-used as cover slabs of the great drain. I 1025 was found at the same point in the drain as I 1024 mentioned above. I 165 (= *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 21, no. 19) comes from Section E, in front of the Metroön.

The only other section besides Z in which prytany decrees have been found in late Roman fill is Section H. Here, just in front of the temple of Apollo Patroös, was found the lower half of a stele with a small joining fragment² (I 600, preserved height 0.73 m.), and, a few metres farther north, several small bits from another stele (I 979). These, however, must be regarded as exceptions.

Thus the evidence derived from the finding places of prytany decrees locates the Prytanikon at the southwest corner of the Agora in front of the Tholos,³ and suggests that it may also have extended some distance to the east of the drain. Literary evidence also points to the identity of Tholos and Prytanikon. We may conclude therefore that Prytanikon was one of the names applied, in official parlance at least, to the Tholos and its "precinct."

¹ On this wall and the objects found in it see this number of *Hesperia*, p. 348.

² Another piece of this stele, *I.G.*, II², 910, was found near the Tower of the Winds.

³ After the manuscript of this article had been sent to the printer, another large fragment of a prytany decree was found in Section B, about eight metres north of the Tholos. It formed part of a wall of Byzantine times in which a number of large blocks had been used. The new fragment preserves most of the lower part of a stele (Ht. 0.70 m., W. 0.47 m., Th. 0.14 m.) broken away above and at the left and slightly reworked along the right edge of the face. The breaks, however, are fresh and sharp and the letters clear, many still retaining the red paint which was used to emphasize them. It seems certain that this stone was never used in any other wall than the one in which we discovered it, and that it comes from nearby together with the other large ancient blocks of which the wall was built. The freshness of this newly found piece contrasts with the battered condition of another fragment of the same stele which joins above (I 432 = *Hesperia*, III, p. 12, no. 16). The latter was found in Section I some two hundred metres to the east, and has suffered considerably in the course of its travels.



Fig. 1. Figured and Black-glazed Vases from a Fifth Century Well

ATTIC BLACK-GLAZED STAMPED WARE AND OTHER POTTERY FROM A FIFTH CENTURY WELL

The vases found in a well excavated just south of the Stoa of Attalos in 1933¹ give an unusually comprehensive notion of the simpler wares in use in Athens during the years near the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Because of its variety and usefulness, this group is here presented in full. With it are illustrated a few pieces from other parts of the Agora excavations, especially such as may serve more fully to set forth the black-glazed wares with stamped decoration, particularly characteristic of the period.

An upper date for the contents of the well, the decades 460–440, is provided by the coin-type stamp found on several storage amphorae for Chian wine.² Of the three red-figured vases in the collection, the krater, **1** (Figs. 1, 4, 18), although painted by an unskilful hand, faithfully reflects the style that is better represented by such artists as the Christie painter.³ The group of Dionysos with attendant maenad and satyr is a familiar one; on our krater the god is chiefly remarkable for his elaborate dress, which includes ependytes as well as chiton and himation. The running women of our pyxis, **2** (Figs. 1, 4) are likewise stock subjects from the vase-painter's repertory; their style

¹ Section Iota, Well in 21/E. This well was dug to a depth of 15 m., at which point the sides caved in and further work became impossible. From the fact that a large number of pots were found complete, or nearly complete, although in fragments, and from the fact that the sherds contained no fragments of water-pitchers, it seems probable that nearly if not all the contents of the well when it served as a dump were recovered, but that the level of its use as a well had not yet been reached when work had to be abandoned. That all the pottery here described was thrown in at one and the same time, seems certain; fragments of the same pots appeared at widely varying levels.

I wish to thank Mr. Arthur Parsons, who excavated this area, for discussing these circumstances with me; and also for his suggestion as to the interpretation of the contents of the well. It is pleasant to express gratitude to many other members of the Agora staff, but especially to Dr. Homer A. Thompson, to whose patience and help I am particularly indebted.

How much both the red-figure and the Attic black have profited by Professor J. D. Beazley's many suggestions, goes without saying; yet for his generosity and kindness thanks may still be expressed.

Since the material is described in catalogue form, footnotes to the text description have been for the most part dispensed with; details will be found in the catalogue. Numbers in bold face are those of this list: **1–92** come from the well under consideration; **93–117** are objects found in various other datable groups; **118–122** are isolated items from late or not certainly significant contexts. Numbers preceded by an initial (P, L, SS) are the Agora inventory numbers.

² *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 296, 303–304; pl. I, 1, and Fig. 1, 1.

³ J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des Rotfigurigen Stils*, Tübingen, 1926 [*Att. V.*], pp. 400–401. This comparison was suggested by Mr. Beazley.



Fig. 2. 3. Red-figured Askos

suggests a date in the vicinity of 440. The askos, **3** (Figs. 2, 4), though a slight piece, is more careful; neither the hawk nor the hare, which looks back at its pursuer, is without spirit. It may perhaps have been painted a bit later than either krater or pyxis but, like them, it belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century.

Before we consider the plainer wares from this well we may turn for a moment, from routine pieces, to the fragment of a very large kotyle, **103**, illustrated on Figure 3. It was found in another deposit of which the more ordinary vases, here represented by **104** (Fig. 7), **105** (Fig. 22), and **106** (Fig. 27) suggest its contemporary character. The scene on the kotyle includes, besides the three figures whom we see grouped around a metal basin, the lower part of a fourth figure, clad in a chiton, standing in front

of a door-post at the extreme left, and facing the principal group. On the reverse are parts of two standing figures, one in long chiton, one in chiton and himation, with space for a third, now missing. Beneath the handles was a simple arrangement of large encircled palmettes.

Our first impression is, I think, that we have here some representation of welcome for the traveler, and we recall those famous travelers in whose adventures a foot-tub plays an important rôle. But there is nothing of the *mise-en-scène* for Theseus's reception by Skiron; nor have we here the personages essential to the recognition scene from the *Odyssey*. Whoever else the majestic central figure in long chiton, standing behind the tub, may be, she is hardly the crook-backed Eurycleia; and without Eurycleia who could picture the story? We can of course conclude that we have here a simple scene of the reception of an unidentifiable traveler, but before we do this we may consider another possibility.

A well-known aryballos in the Louvre¹ gives us a variety of scenes from an Athenian surgeon's office; on it the central group consists of three persons grouped around a large basin. Of the three figures, the one to the right is a patient, seated, waiting; the one to the left is the doctor, also seated, engaged in binding up the arm of the standing central figure, for whose operation the basin has been necessary. Some such interpretation

¹ *Att. V.*, p. 224, 30; *British School Annual*, 29, 1927-1928, p. 206, 11; by the Clinic painter, a follower of Makron.



Fig. 3. 103. Red-figured Kotyle

of our scene would certainly be most attractive, were it possible satisfactorily to assign the rôles of doctor, patient, and waiting friend to our three figures without confusion. That it is difficult to do this does not, in view of the state of the vase, by any means exclude the possibility of a clinic scene. The central figure, however, fits in badly among the votaries of Asklepios. Both the god and mortal practitioners are most usually represented as wearing the ordinary himation. Nor does a long chiton seem probable as the dress of an Athenian citizen setting out to call on his doctor. The proportions of the figure, moreover, certainly suggest a woman.

We are constrained to continue our search for a legendary interpretation of this puzzling scene not least because of the character of the artist. The piece is probably by the painter of the Berlin Dinos.¹ In so far as we know, his interest in genre scenes was



Fig. 4. Figured Vases from a Fifth Century Well

relatively slight. It would be as an addition to his gallery of magnificent reconstructions of myth and legend that our kotyle would feel most thoroughly, even though humbly, at home. Evidence of the painter's hand seems good in the treatment and shading of the drapery. Our standing figure in the long chiton is close to his Aphrodite on the Bologna krater showing the preparations for Atalante's race.² The new piece should date early in his career, near this same vase.

Figure 4 restores us to our well and recapitulates its figured vases. Beside the krater, askos, and pyxis already mentioned, there appear two lekythoi (7, 53), and a drinking cup, a kantharos of unusual type, 8 (Figs. 4, 19), ornamented below the outer edge of the rim with a painted ivy wreath. Only flecks of the paint remain, but the stain left by the pattern is clear. Kotylai with related decoration appear in datable contexts

¹ *Att. V.*, pp. 447 ff. As Mr. Beazley has pointed out, some association of the piece with the rising interest in the cult of Asklepios, established in Athens in 421, would be most welcome.

² *Att. V.*, p. 448, 6.

sufficiently often to remind us that the tradition of such ornament did not wholly die out in mid-fifth century Attica.¹ The shape is an indication of the interest in new and elaborate forms characteristic of the time.

An experimental trend appears, further, in the decoration of the black-glazed pieces. Patterns stamped beneath the glaze range from a most elaborate combination of rays, ovules, and palmettes to a simple circle with four palmettes set none too carefully around it. The more intricate designs appear on stemless cups, broad and deep, with moulded foot and undersurface and rim offset on the inside (10, 11), a combination, it would seem, of stemless cup and cup-kotyle. Fabric, glaze, and stamped technique are alike excellent. The patterns on the smaller cups (12–20) all with plain rim and foot, are simpler, but they show no less interest in variety.

A few cups with red-figured exterior decoration datable in the second quarter of the century are ornamented inside in a manner sometimes spoken of as stamping, but that is better described as incision beneath the glaze.² The decoration consists of circles, arcs, and rays only. This method continued in use, on the interior of red-figured stemless cups, down to about the period of our well. The Karlsruhe painter's cup in London,³ for instance, its running figures of the same family as those of our pyxis, shows this type of decoration. Somewhat before this time, however, possibly before the end of the first half of the century, stamped motifs had been added to the engraver's technique.⁴

¹ Cf. P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, London, 1913, pp. 38–39. Fragments of such kotylai from the Agora found in contexts no later than the third quarter of the century are P 4258, P 4845. Further, with the ribbed stamped cup, here no. 108, was found a fragment of an oinochoe, with a wreath painted around the neck.

² Good examples are Paris, Louvre, G 623, E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1922, III, pl. 158; and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 13,203, L. D. Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, Boston, 1922, p. 208.

³ *Att. V.*, p. 328, 32. The pattern is very close to that illustrated by Orsi, *Monumenti Lincei*, 14, 1904, p. 919, fig. 117, third row from top, right. Compare also the description of the Amymone painter's stamped cup, *ibid.*, p. 914 (*Att. V.*, p. 320, 14).

⁴ The earliest figured cup on which stamped motifs appear is probably Athens, N. M. 1573, M. Collignon and L. Couve, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, Paris, 1904, pl. 44, 1217.

I am most grateful to Mrs. P. N. Ure, whose forthcoming study of vases which combine stamped and red-figured decoration will provide a solid basis for the chronology of the stamped style, not only for knowledge of this cup, but also for a most generous sharing of her other material.

References to the existence of black-glazed stamped ware earlier than this, and in particular to its presence with black-figured vases of good period (cf. P. Wolters, *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 11, 1919–1920, p. 115) appear in large part, so far as I have been able to pursue them, to hark back to a misunderstanding of Zannoni's publication (A. Zannoni, *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, Bologna, 1879, pl. 139 and p. 399). On Plate 139 are illustrated three vases: nos. 1–2, a cup with ribbed walls and stamped decoration; nos. 3–4, another cup with stamped decoration; and nos. 5–6, a black-figured amphora. Zannoni's plates in most cases include but the contents of a single grave; hence the confusion. On Plate 139, however, this is not so: the black-figured amphora and the ribbed stamped cup there illustrated are stated to belong to different burials, graves 401 and 402, respectively. The ribbed cup appears to be an early fourth century shape; its fabric hardly sounds Attic; but, regardless of form or origin, it would be difficult to fix its date from the few scraps of black figure said to have been found with it, not illustrated. The stamped cup illustrated as Plate 139, 5–6, seems to have been included simply for comparison. It is not specified in the contents of either grave 401 or grave 402.



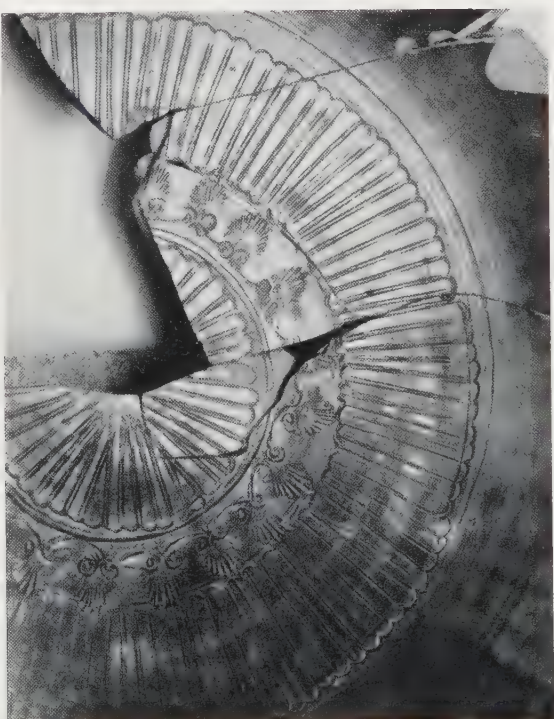
95



10



11



108

Fig. 5. Stamped Patterns from Stainless Cups, Scale 1:1

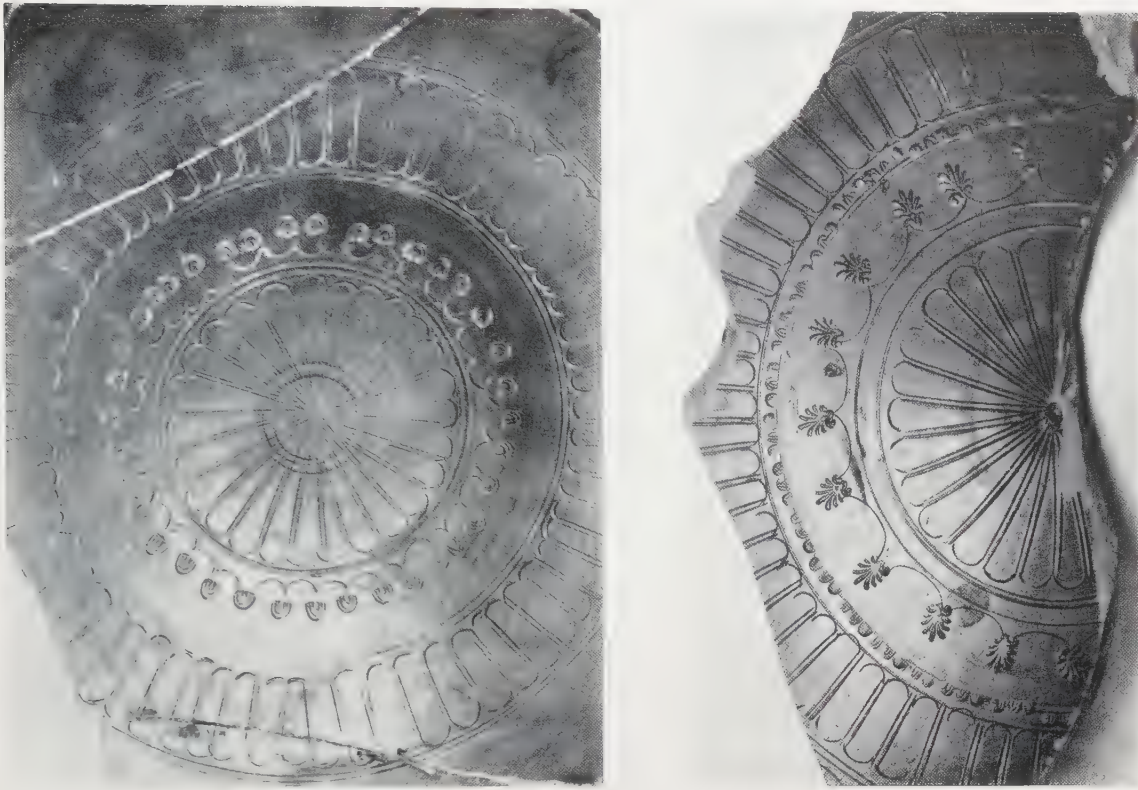


Fig. 6. 98, 107. Stamped Patterns from Stemless Cups. Scale 1:1

The earliest cup—not from our well—in the series illustrated here (95, Fig. 5) shows a lightly incised rosette surrounded by grooves and, beyond them, by linked palmettes.¹ The stamp was unskilfully made, as the broken lines of the petals show, but the simple and spacious effect of the decoration as a whole is most pleasing. Such restraint could not long survive the invention of the stamp. On the large cups from the well (10 and 11, Figs. 5, 20), the decoration has already reached its most elaborate form. Circles of palmettes and of egg-pattern crowd around the central rosette. The very fine fabric of these pieces, no less than the character of the decoration, enhances the desired metallic effect.

On less pretentious cups (Fig. 6, 98, 107) the decoration, although not crowded, seems heavy when it is compared with our first example. For this effect the double lines, now used instead of the single for outlining tongues and rosettes, seem to be responsible. Such decoration appears most frequently on stemless cups of ordinary size, with lip offset inside; but neither this shape nor the rosette-and-tongue decoration is represented

¹ Typologically, the decoration of such a cup as one found at Rosarno (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1917, p. 47, fig. 15) on which a simple ray pattern appears in company with stamped motifs, might be a little earlier than our first example.



Fig. 7. 104. Black-glazed Stemless Cup. Scale 1:1

cup **108** (Figs. 5, 20), with ribbed exterior, was found with a variety of red-figured pieces which may be dated in the last quarter of the century. It shows clearly the approaching breakdown of the tongue-and-rosette decoration. The double lines of the rays are now close together, the palmettes large, crowding their zone, and supplied with heavy volutes. The development which begins with **95** here is seen nearing its term.

We may trace a similar process in patterns of another sort, those in which palmettes linked or independent are set not around an incised rosette, but around a plain circle, or a ring of some other stamped motif. Variants of one of the most successful of these compositions appear both in our well (**20**) and (**104**, Fig. 7) in the deposit which contained the kotyle by the painter of the Berlin Dinos. A more elaborate and much less successful version is provided by **99** (Fig. 8), interesting, however, because of the manner in which the outer ring of ornament is made. It will be seen that for these volutes the lower edge only of the palmette stamp has been used; a few petals sometimes appear along with the volutes. **102**, though by a very different hand, belongs to this same series of patterns. Beside it we should set a cup found in the purification pit on Rheneia,²

¹ Athens, N. M. 1573. Inside, the lip offset; stamped decoration, rosette, linked palmettes, and tongue pattern. A and B, a woman between two erotes. The foot moulded beneath, with a central point as our **95**, but less exaggerated; glazed black. Not far from the Marlay painter; especially close, the wedding pyxis in London, *Att. V.*, p. 414, below. See above, p. 481, note 4.

² K. A. Romaios, *Arch. Delt.*, 12, 1929, pp. 181ff.; the stamped cup referred to, and another simpler, on p. 203, fig. 12. The lower limit which the Rheneia finds provide is of course invaluable; but one wonders how much pottery was exported from Athens to Delos in the troublesome years after 432. No less important for the dating of black-glazed stamped ware than the finds at Rheneia are the vases from the Polyandrion

in our well group. A stemless cup in the Athens museum¹ provides however a welcome parallel, and indicates that the date of pieces such as **98** and **107** cannot be far removed from that of our well collection. The cup in question is decorated outside in red-figure; inside it carries incised and stamped ornament arranged exactly as on our **98**, but with the more usual palmettes replacing the egg stamps here seen. Its palmettes are of the sharp, straight-petalled sort well seen on our **10** (Fig. 5). The red-figured decoration suggests a date in the vicinity of 430.

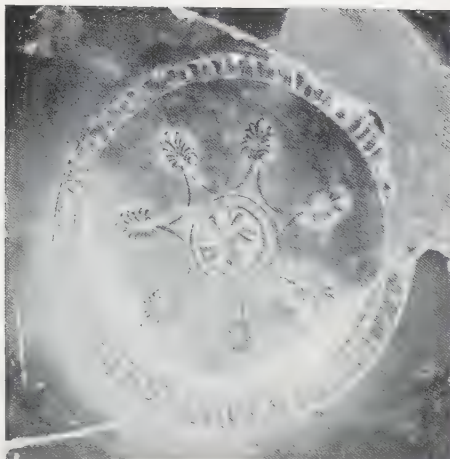
The Agora collection offers little evidence for the persistence of stamped and incised decoration of this, the finest, type much after the outbreak of the War. The



99



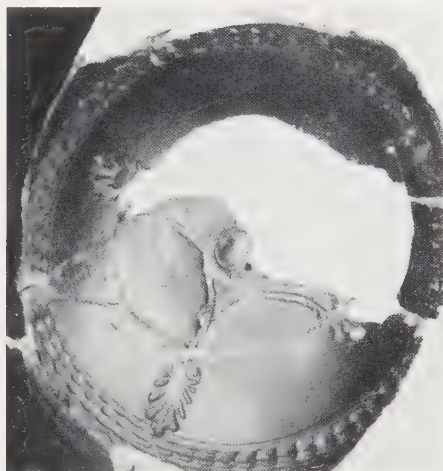
102



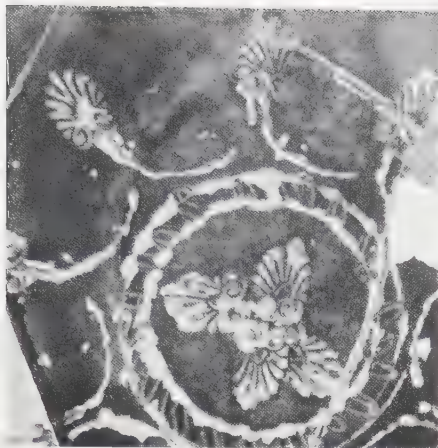
114



112



115



117

Fig. 8. Stamped Patterns. Scale 1 : 1



Fig. 9. Black-glazed Cup-Kotylai with Stamped Decoration

transported thither from Delos in 426, and perhaps originally made in the same Attic workshop as our piece.

114 (Figs. 8, 9, 20) is a much more pleasing arrangement, recalling that of **20** and **104**, but probably somewhat later than they, as both the finding place and the shape of the deep cup-kotyle, which carries it, suggest. Set beside **10** (Fig. 9) the less generous curve of the wall, the faint hint of outward swing at the lip, and the character of the handles, bent back sharply at the ends, foretell the fourth century. This pattern is one of the most long-lived and the most conservative of elaborate stamped arrangements, among the few to survive the decay of stamped decoration which appears to have set in not long after 430. It occurs, indeed, almost exactly as here, on a vase in the National Museum in Athens,¹ a cup-kotyle of the heavy type with out-turned, offset lip, decorated outside with red figure belonging to the last years of the fifth century or the

of the Thespians who fell in the Battle of Delium in 424 B.C. The patterns represented in this collection, to be seen in the Thebes Museum, are however for the most part of the simpler sort. The close correspondences which this group provides with our collection are noted below in the catalogue.

¹ N.M. 1408; an ivy wreath around the lip inside.

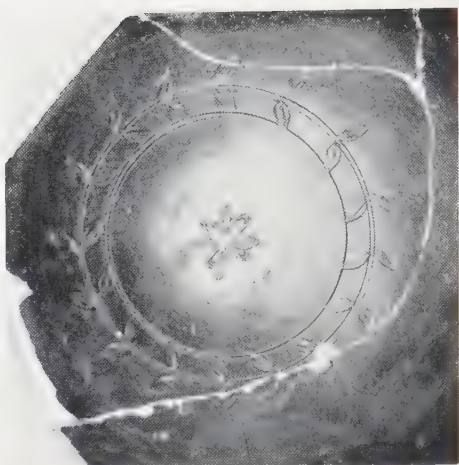
first of the fourth. To this same time belongs probably our fragment **112** (Fig. 8) which appears to have come from a fairly large open bowl, not a common fifth century shape. Both the shape and the type of decoration may be seen in a somewhat more elaborate piece of the same sort from Olynthos.¹ It is on bowls such as these that the latest of the complicated stamped arrangements appear.

We cannot here pursue the history of stamped ornament into the fourth century, but two examples may be included to indicate the trend. **115** (Figs. 8, 20), a cup-kotyle in shape descended from **10** and **114**, shows the curves which link its palmettes lengthened into sharp points, a characteristic not found on our fifth century pieces. Here also appears one of the earlier forms of rouletting, in which the strokes run end to end, not parallel with each other. The piece belongs probably to the middle years of the fourth century. Finally, a bowl with out-turned rim, **117** (Fig. 8) well illustrates the persistence of the pattern whose earlier version we have seen on **114**. The large heavy-petalled palmettes suggest, as does the shape of the bowl, and its context, a date in the later fourth century.

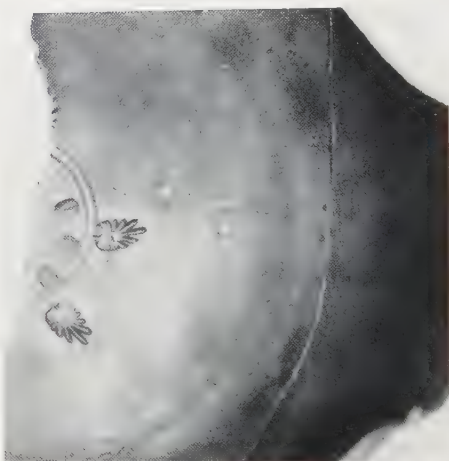
A few simple arrangements, all of the fifth century, are shown in Figure 10. **118** is an oddity; **15** and **17** come from our well; **100** from a contemporary deposit. **109**, **110**, and **111** are from the same collection as **108**, to be dated toward the end of the century. These latter illustrate, no less well than the larger piece, the breakdown of fine stamped ornament. We have here to do not with crowding and over-elaboration, but with a hasty cheapening of the stamp-maker's methods. The harsh oval outline of these little palmettes, especially apparent on **109**, contrasts with earlier and better pieces in which the petals have no such rigid frame. The stamps were probably of clay, no different in general character from those employed later by the makers of moulds for Megarian bowls.² The design may well have been drawn on the clay before baking, and the background scraped away. Careless scraping would produce the effect already seen on **95**; more or less scraping would produce either the metal-sharp petals of such cups as our **10**; or the heavier, curving type seen on **104** (Fig. 7) and elsewhere. It seems obvious that the sharper the lines left in relief, the shorter the life of the stamp. Even in the débris of the shops wherein these cups were made it is unusual to find two pieces made certainly with the same stamp. It is therefore not surprising that crisp metallic petals should appear at their best only on vases decorated during the great prosperity of the style, a prosperity which, as the group from our well indicates, belongs probably to the decade between 440 and 430. **108** shows such petals still in use some decades later; but motifs such as that on **109** indicate an effort to compromise between the slender type petal, and the durability which a slight edge left around the stamp would provide. The result is hardly such as to encourage repetition, and we need not be surprised to

¹ D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part V, Baltimore, 1933, pl. 153, 559.

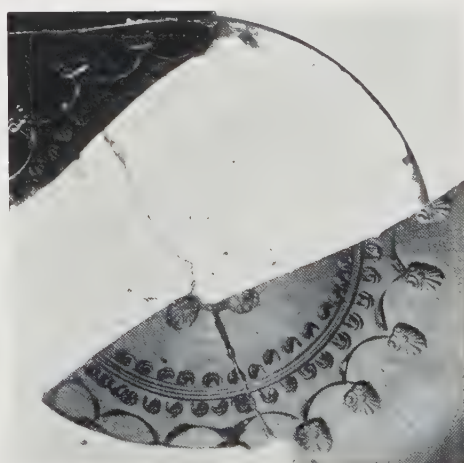
² *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 453, fig. 120, see above p. 425. A clay stamp for making palmettes, of a late type, has been found at Corinth. It will be included by Miss Gladys Davidson in her forthcoming publication of the Corinth small finds.



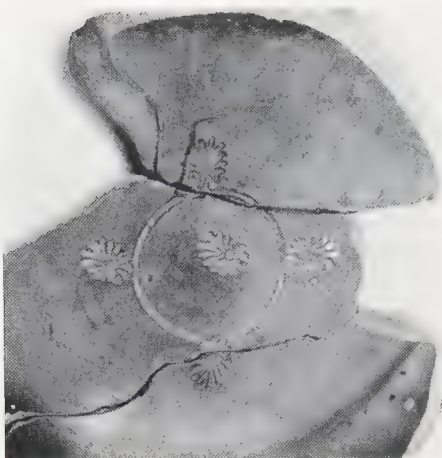
119



15



17



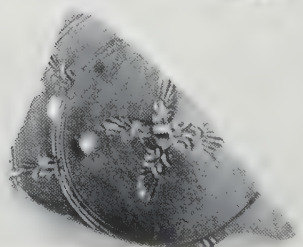
100



109



110



111

Fig. 10. Stamped Patterns. Scale 1:1

find that from this time onward even the most careful potters, well represented by our **114**, tend to use the more solid and more durable type of stamp. How solid, and how durable, the stamps have become by the full fourth century we have already seen; a clear consciousness of the metal prototypes of the decoration hardly survives to the turn of the century.

It is difficult to avoid all speculation as to the origin of the use of a stamp for such decoration. Although these stamps appear at about the same time as those first used for the marking of wine-storage amphorae, we need hardly expect to find any immediate connection between the two; but both alike may express a contemporary idea. As we have already seen, the earliest figured cups with related decoration have their ornament incised beneath the glaze, not stamped. Incision on unglazed clay was a usual means of decorating certain types of vases, notably onoi, from the sixth century into the fourth. The scale pattern found on onoi is in its elements not to be separated from the egg-pattern so common on black-glazed stamped ware. From the glazing over of such ornament, to the making of a stamp to facilitate the work were steps which need not have seemed long to enterprising Attic potters.¹

It seems possible that the first eggs and perhaps the first palmettes associated with incised black-glazed decoration were themselves individually incised, not stamped. Although we have no evidence for such a method, from the earliest days of the stamped style, in the Agora, we may find a reminiscence of it in the fragment **122**, Fig. 11. The painter of this small stemless cup, whom it is difficult not to associate with one of the most skilful hands of pre-Meidian times, thought to enhance the effect of his central medallion by providing it with a border of eggs, or horse-shoes, set endwise. This border is incised, not stamped. The painter, having no stamp at hand, produces a similar effect by a method which may well have been long familiar. We could hardly ask for a better illustration of the popularity and importance of stamped decoration in the Athenian Kerameikos in the years round about 430 than is provided by this small scrap. The man who painted our dancing Eros had at his command every resource of the red-figure technique. It was no accident, but a certain knowledge of contemporary taste, which caused him, for once, to imitate the stamper's methods.

Thus far we have been concerned with stamped patterns only in so far as they appear on drinking vessels; we may consider two of the other vase shapes on which such

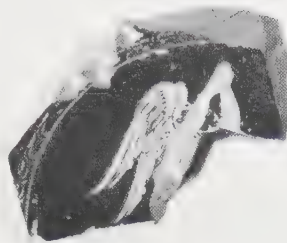


Fig. 11. **122**. Scale 1:1

¹ We can consider here only such evidence for method as the potters' craft supplies. It is very possible, however, that tools and technique, as well as models, were borrowed from the worker in bronze. Dr. Thompson has pointed out to me that on a fragmentary sixth-century bronze krater, found in the Agora, a scale pattern seems to have been made with a punch. From such a tool our egg-stamps might well trace their descent.

patterns most commonly occur. One of these, the small open-mouthed ribbed jug, appears in our well group (52, Fig. 1), petal-ribbed and with a simple egg stamp. On a series of unusually large and fine amphoriskoi (96, 97, Fig. 12), from a different well, a rather lighter petal ribbing, formed simply by great loops incised in the clay, can be seen. This unlabored, spacious ornament, together with the crisp little palmettes, indicates no less than does the context from which they come that these pieces belong to the best days of the stamped style. It is thus the more interesting to note on both the



Fig. 12. 96, 97. Black-glazed Amphoriskoi

examples illustrated here the interlacing of the loops which link the palmettes. This interlacing, so characteristic of the middle and later fourth century, is rare on fifth century cups. Its appearance here may serve to remind us that every element of the long decadence existed already in the earlier days of the style. Even a foretaste of rouletting may be found on one of the pieces from our well (14, Fig. 21). The composition of the patterns is therefore probably a safer guide to their date than is any single motif. We have already seen the restrained arrangements of the early days give way to the lacy elaboration of the fine style. This exuberance perishes of itself; for the later stamped style there remain only a few of the sturdier, more conservative compositions.

The illustrations given here are sufficient to indicate that during the rise and the prosperity of the style the variety of palmettes employed was probably greater than was the number of the men who made them. Certain resemblances do however distinguish these stamps from their successors. Some of these characteristics we have already remarked. Returning, however, to Figure 8 for a moment, we may note that, had we scraps only, we should not need to confuse the palmette of **99**, broadly curved from point to volute, with that of **112**, on which the nearly vertical sides deprive the



Fig. 13. **120**. Red-figured Kotyle

petals of their rounded tips. Nor should we wish to place the heavy petals of **115** beside the frothy sprays, only less elongated, of **102**. And for all the similarity of arrangement, we should hardly be willing to exchange the small neat palmettes of **114** for their descendants on **117**.

At present the material found in the Agora for the study of black-glazed stamped ware is abundant for the third quarter of the fifth century; it is adequate also for much of the fourth century. For the second quarter of the fifth century it is limited to a single fragment, **95** being the only piece which, whether on stylistic grounds or on external evidence, could lay any claim to a date before 450. For the last quarter of

the century we are hardly less restricted (108–111).¹ Further excavation should enable us to fill out the series, and to revise or expand the outline of development here suggested.

Among the plainer glazed wares from our well (Fig. 1), we may note that the wide-mouthed jugs of all sizes (50–52), their walls ribbed, or ornamented with a combination of ribbing and stamping, provide evidence of an interest in elaboration, and a desire to imitate metal originals, no less definite than do the stemless cups. Still simpler pieces fit without difficulty our notions of shapes current in the third quarter of the fifth century. Of the kotylai, both the heavy, ring-footed, Attic type (21) and the thinner walled "Corinthian" (22–32) appear. As one among many contemporary comparisons for the shape of the first, we may illustrate a red-figured kotyle from the Agora shelves



Fig. 14. 121

(120, Fig. 13). The dull creature stiffly holding out her wicker box, among household surroundings indicated by a taenia on the wall behind her and the box on the floor in front, is familiar enough on many lekythoi and pyxides of the years around 440. She is repeated on a lekythos by the same hand in the National Museum in Athens.² Figured examples of the second type, most closely approximating our series in shape, may be dated about 430.

In our group, both these varieties of the deep, plain drinking cup, be it skyphos or kotyle, appear in distinct, uncontaminated form. A curious variation is illustrated in Fig. 14 (121). The fragment comes from a very small kotyle of the heavy-walled variety, here with one vertical and, we may assume, one horizontal handle, exactly the sort of vase so frequently decorated with an owl between olive branches on each side. In this case, however, the owl is on the top of the vertical handle, and around the lower body appear the criss-cross lines almost exclusively associated with kotylai of the thin-walled "Corinthian" type.

We need hardly expect figured parallels for the practical "one-handler" (37–44). Big and little, our well contained a large proportion of drinking cups of this sort. Nor need we be surprised, for a sturdier, more comfortable, less fragile cup is difficult to imagine. Not until a fourth century tendency to lengthen and tip up the handle destroyed its

¹ I have not been able to see the fragments in Jena (W. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, Berlin, 1930, p. 16) which should provide valuable criteria for the stamped style in the first quarter of the fourth century.

² Athens, N.M. 1195; H., 0.228 m.

reliability could so excellent and sensible a shape be forgotten. Hardly less conservative are the small black-glazed olpai (59-62); they provide an interesting contrast with the squat lekythoi (53-58, Figs. 1 and 24) of which no two are exactly alike, and in which the profiles show the greatest diversity. The shape of one of these lekythoi may be illustrated by a figured piece (101, Fig. 15) from the same well, possibly from the same shop, as several of the stamped pieces (97-100) already mentioned. The drawing of the maened who pours a libation is coarse but reasonably lively;¹ the style seems no later than that of our krater and pyxis.

When we turn from the glazed wares to the more substantial partly-glazed fabrics (Fig. 16), we find a single example of the one-handler, 68, but a variety of other larger shapes. Most numerous are the kraters (67, 69-71). One (67), without handles, reverses the scheme of decoration usual for such bowls, and is glazed all over save for reserved rim and band. Another (71) has upturned handles set partly down the side wall. The most usual shape (69, 70) shows heavy handles set just beneath a gently rolling rim. The glaze is used almost entirely for practical purposes; it covers the inside, the rim, and the foot. A line around the body below the handles is the single concession to decoration. This is the typical mixing bowl of fifth century Athens; that we may properly call it a krater we know from representations on vases, but that its use was limited to the mixing of wine we certainly cannot imagine. Evidence from Agora deposits shows that from the end of the sixth century into the fourth the profile of rim and wall may change somewhat, but the essential character of the pot remains unaltered (Fig. 25). How very common such vessels were in the earlier fifth century we know not only from finds of pots more or less complete, but also from the fact that among the many inscribed ostraka found in the Agora an astonishingly large proportion comes from just such bowls, both rim and wall pieces.



Fig. 15. 101. Red-figured Lekythos. (Slightly reduced)

¹ By the same hand, two other lekythoi from this well, P 5264 and P 5265. Also, in the National Museum, Athens, N.M. 1207 and N.M. 1280, both these with Niké, flying right.



Fig. 16. Household Pottery from a Fifth Century Well. Scale *ca.* 1:6

To the same fabric, glazed inside and with horizontal bands on the exterior, belong two hooded pots of peculiar shape (**72, 73**). Aristophanes has provided the clue to their identity;¹ we need not doubt that we have here two representations of a shape hitherto unrecognized, the *amis*.

The entirely unglazed pots are of limited variety. The unstable askos (**75**), its narrow neck so difficult for filling, its interior so impossible of washing, seems designed for the housewife's despair. Our example is, however, planned to pour without loss of a drop. Probably these larger askoi were, like the smaller pots which go by the same name, intended for oil. In a large household, such a pot as that here illustrated might have filled many lamps, or many *lekythoi*.

Casseroles, flanged for a lid and round-bottomed to set over a brazier (**77-79**), were the favorite cooking pot of classical Athens and indeed of the Aegean world. They are not of Attic, but probably of Island, manufacture (p. 513, below). Occasional deeper-bodied pots also show traces of fire, and suggest boiling rather than stewing or frying (**80; 84**, Fig. 26). The great number of casseroles, however, varying only in detail from the fifth century through the second, suggests that the Athenian, when his food demanded cooking, was probably inclined to fry in oil. The purpose of the small spout which such pots frequently carry is obscure. Since lids always accompany the casseroles, it would be natural to suppose the little tube a vent. But on our examples it is solid nearly to its rim, a circumstance which seems further to eliminate the alternative sometimes suggested, namely, that the appendage served as the socket for a wooden handle by means of which the pot might be removed from the fire. For cookery over the modest dimensions of a charcoal brazier (Fig. 27) such a device seems unnecessary. The two proper handles with which these pots are supplied would fill every ordinary need. It is worth noting that a giant cooking-pot found in a context of the seventies, has a practicable spout in a similar position. Our solid spouts may be simply vestigial; even so it is difficult to account for their persistence on vessels whose practicality was their only excuse for being.

The many drinking cups and kraters of our collection readily suggest to us that the interest of its original owners was not primarily in eating. This impression is strengthened by the great number of wine storage amphorae (Fig. 17) found from top to bottom of the deposit. Five of these, and a fragment of a sixth, bear the Chian stamp already referred to. Another (**85**), similar in shape and fabric, carries a *kantharos* as device; **86-88** illustrate the remaining characteristic types.

By no means every Athenian paid the high prices which could be asked for the best Chian wine. In Plutarch's anecdote,² Socrates' friend who complains that Chian wine costs a hundred drachmae the jar is promptly rebuked by the philosopher for his needlessly extravagant tastes. A number of wine jars from our well bear graffiti (Fig. 28 and see below, p. 515) which it seems possible to interpret as indications of price,

¹ Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 807, 935; *Thesm.*, 633.

² Plut., *Moralia*, 470, F; and see *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 296.

inscribed though they be by persons of very varying training and literacy. If our interpretation can be accepted, the prices indicated range from seven to fourteen drachmae the jar.

Yet even these brews must have seemed expensive to the ordinary Athenian. Demosthenes¹ cites the price of twelve drachmae a jar as exorbitant for Attic wine; and that at a time when prices were considerably higher than in our period. Knidian wine sold in Delos² at from six to four drachmae a jar, and this in the third century when

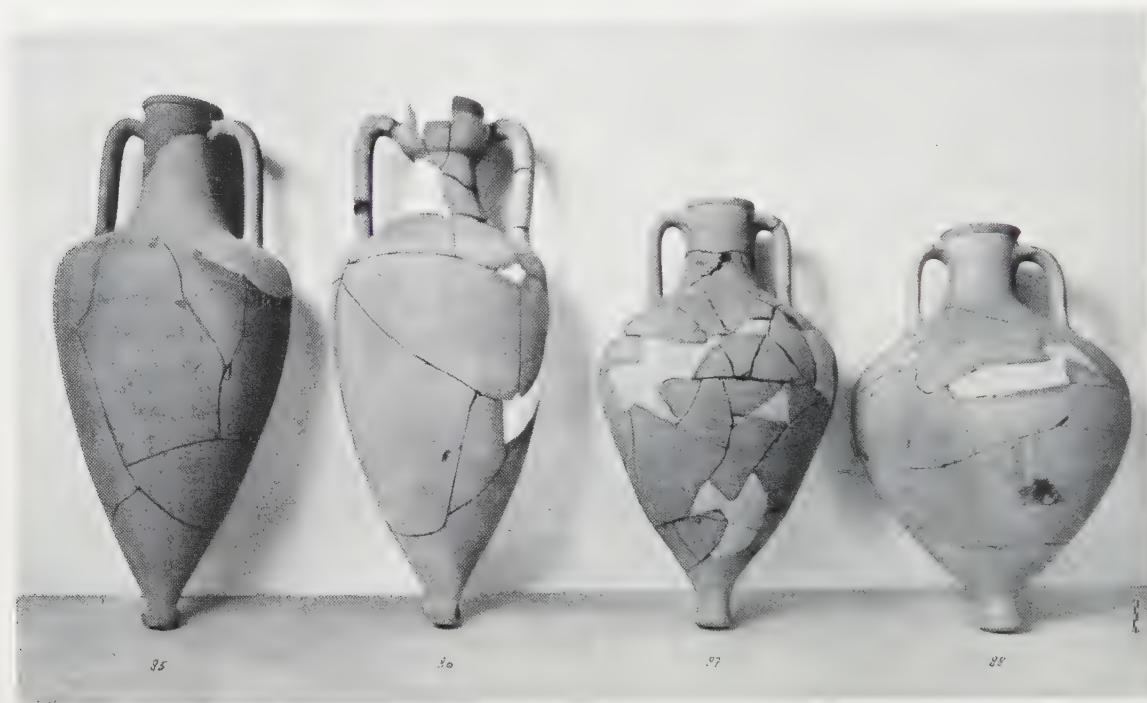


Fig. 17. Wine Amphorae from the Well. Scale *ca.* 1:10

the cost of living had risen very much higher again. The wine imported to Athens in our jars was thus of a good quality, though not the best.

Of the hundred-odd vases from our well, sufficiently complete to be inventoried, some forty-two are drinking vessels of one sort or another; five are mixing bowls; and twenty amphorae in which wine was presumably purchased. Among the unlisted fragments the proportion of wine-amphorae is vastly higher. Beside this array of convivial equipment, the single powder-box, the few indispensable lamps, the occasional plates, and even the cooking pots seem if not out of place at all events unimportant. What sort of household was this, indeed, whose broken table-ware and cellar supply were suddenly swept into

¹ Dem., *Ad Phain.*, 42, 20.

² *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 34, 1910, p. 143.

the temporary retirement of our well? The collection suggests that we have here not household equipment, but rather the furnishings of a taverna, a wine-shop with some pretensions to elegance, which flourished near the borders of the Agora in the years around 440. Apparently it met with some disaster which caused its abandonment and the discarding of its paraphernalia, somewhere about 430. The same shapes must have figured at every Athenian meal of the period, but our collection seems to have a special interest.

It is tempting to imagine that the bankruptcy or death of the owner of the shop due to the outbreak of the War, or to the plague, may have been responsible for the clean sweep which was made of his possessions. If he had set up his business in the prosperous days of ten years earlier, his equipment, as we find it, would be thoroughly understandable. The red-figured krater, for instance, was an extravagance not repeated. Its lip, from which the broken rim has been neatly trimmed, suggests a proper regard for unnecessary expenditure. The big black-glazed cups, however, with their elaborate decoration, were a concession to fashion in the days, no doubt welcome to tavern keepers, that just preceded the outbreak of the War. Where the evidence for dating is so largely relative, it would be idle to labor precise historical connections. We may, however, safely see in this collection how well the tavern keeper of Periclean Athens was prepared to serve the needs, and the wishes, of his patrons.

CATALOGUE¹

VASES FROM A FIFTH CENTURY WELL: 1-92

1. (P 1855) Red-figured calyx-krater. Figs. 1, 4, 18

H., 0.227 m. D., 0.208 m.

A: Dionysos right, looking back left; he wears chiton, embroidered ependytes, and himation, and carries in his right hand a kantharos, in his left a thyrsos. In front of him walks a bearded satyr, nude, wreathed, playing the double flutes. Behind the god, a maenad, right, wearing a bordered Doric chiton, her hair fastened by a broad band. She carries in her left hand a torch to light the procession, and in her right an oinochoe.

B: Three cloaked youths. The central figure wrapped in a cloak save for his right arm, stands front, but looks left toward a semi-draped figure who leans on a staff and holds in his hand an elongated aryballos. At the right, the third figure wrapped in his himation, faces left, his right hand outstretched toward the central figure.

Relief contours for the profiles of the figures on A, only.

¹ The following abbreviations are used: D. = diameter, H. = height, P.H. = preserved height, W. = width, Max. dim. = maximum dimension preserved.



Fig. 18. 1. Red-figured Calyx-Krater

The calyx-krater by the Christie painter, in Cambridge (*Att. V.*, p. 400, 1; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* [C.V.A.] Cambridge, pl. 37, 1) suggests the sort of decoration our painter would have provided if he could. Cf. also, for the maenad, the women on the calyx-krater by the same painter, in Würzburg (*Att. V.*, p. 400, 3; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich, 1932, pl. 190, 152, there dated about 440). Our satyr, further, might have been copied from him on a calyx-krater in Paris, *Att. V.*, p. 400, 4. With Dionysos' dress compare Apollo's on a calyx-krater by the Niobid painter, C.V.A., Oxford, I, 21, 4; or, again Dionysos, on a pelike in the National Museum in Athens, N. M., 1259.

2. (P 2283) Red-figured pyxis. Figs. 1 and 4

H., 0.095 m. D., 0.107 m.

One section of the foot missing, another chipped; about half the rim gone, and part of one side, including the upper part of one figure. Flange, foot, and bottom reserved, decorated with bands of glaze; the inside glazed. No contours.

Three women, running, one right, toward a column but looking behind her toward a door. The other two figures, back to back, run toward door and column respectively. All wear chitons and himatia.

The curve of the sides is about as on the Amyone painter's pyxis (*Att. V.*, p. 319, 1), but the foot of ours in lower and coarser. Another pyxis in Athens, by the painter of London D 12 (*Att. V.*, p. 279, 1) is very close in shape to ours; it is decorated with scenes of women at home, in the wooden, careless manner of the mid-fifth century followers of the Penthesilea painter. Other pyxides in Athens may be compared for shape and date: N. M. 1288; 1661; 2381 (rather finer). Later the sides grow narrower and higher. Cf. L. Curtius, *Pentheus*, Winckelmannsprogramm, 88, Berlin, 1929.

3. (P 1856) Red-figured askos. Figs. 2 and 4

H., 0.034 m. D., 0.10.

Handle and spout missing. Flat bottom, reserved. No relief contours; dilute glaze for part of inner drawing. An eagle, on one side, in pursuit of a hare, on the other.

The shape as C.V.A., Oxford, I, pl. 48, 31. Similar scenes on many red-figure askoi; for the hare cf. C.V.A., *ibid.*, pl. 45, 4; also C.V.A., Cambridge, pl. 39, 3. Another version of the bird on C.V.A., Cambridge, pl. 39, 2.

4. (P 2326) Fragment from a red-figured oinochoe

Max. dim., 0.049 m.

A bit from the wall, with the thighs and tail of a satyr, right. Partial relief contours. Thin glaze inside.

5. (P 2327) Fragment from a red-figured pot

H., ca. 0.12 m. W., 0.092 m.

The inside unglazed; the trace of a handle to the right—from a hydria? The lower leg and foot of an himation-clad figure, right, standing on a border of stopped meander and cross square. Brown for drapery lines.

6. (P 2328) Rim fragment from a red-figured krater

M. dim., ca. 0.099 m.

On the rim a laurel wreath, left; brown ribs for the leaves. Below, a small scrap of some representation. Two reserved bands inside.

There is nothing in these three unedifying fragments to suggest a date later than 430. **5** belongs to the mid-fifth century; **4** and **6** perhaps to the decade 440–430; the wreath on the rim piece recalls that on the Komaris painter's krater, *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, 24, 2, though in our fragment the leaves are considerably shorter and plumper.

Two fragments of black figure, P 2325 from the shoulder of a small lekythos, and P 2324 from the wall of a large pot, with a bit of a standing figure, also come from this well.

7. (P 2284) White-ground lekythos decorated in black. Figs. 1 and 4

H., 0.17 m. D., 0.048 m.

Black above the foot; around the body, ivy spray between latticed bands.

The wide range of such small wreath-decorated lekythoi is well known. Ours with its more stringy pattern is perhaps a little later than one in Baltimore, for which references to the type have been recently gathered together, *C.V.A.*, Robinson Collection, III, Jb., pl. 38, 6. On the pattern see below, no. **8**. Jacobsthal (Paul Jacobsthal, *Ornamente Griechischer Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, p. 71 and pl. 34 a) places a more elaborate example of the same variety in the decade 470–460. On ours the walls are faintly concave rather than convex. So also are those of other examples of the third quarter of the century, as Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, pl. 53 b and c. The shape once established shows little variation for a long time; but possibly the Olynthos examples (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 50, 31, 32) are set rather too early.

8. (P 2322) Black-glazed kantharos with painted decoration. Figs. 4, 19, 20

H., 0.057 m. D., at rim 0.12 m., at base 0.04 m

Rounded body, small flaring ring foot, two vertical band handles; missing. Velvety black glaze. Just below the rim, a painted ivy pattern, leaves and berries alternating on either side of a curving stem. Hardly more than the stain of the pattern remains, but there are clear traces of the clay-color. The foot reserved, decorated with glazed bands.

The unusual shape recalls, though it does not resemble, that of the Eretria painter's kantharos (*Att. V.*, p. 430, 10); the handles in the water-color (Fig. 19) have been restored with this vase in mind. The general trend of the pattern which surrounds the rim may be followed through the fifth century. In the black-figured version of the Leagros krater in Berlin (*Att. V.*, p. 61, 1; Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, pl. 56) it is thoroughly formal, pairs of leaves and berries balancing each other exactly, above and below. The Berlin painter's pattern (Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler*, Berlin, 1930, pl. 1) is no less compact, but we may notice that each leaf no longer falls exactly below its fellow. By the Penthesilea painter's time the tendrils are longer and the general effect much freer; the central stem, too, tends to be represented as a wavy rather than as a straight or shallow zigzag line (*Att. V.*, p. 272, 1; 276, 55). Cf. also the stamnos signed by Hermonax in the Louvre, *Att. V.*, p. 299, 1. Thereafter, in careful or elaborate work, the tendrils become yet more diffuse and the central stem is regularly a broadly wavy line. For the pattern in the same stage as on our cup, compare the Mannheim painter's Oxford oinochoe (*Att. V.*, p. 363, 4; *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 43, 14); a fragment from the Acropolis (B. Graef, E. Langlotz and others, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1909–1914; 1925–1933, II, 2, pl. 41, 523 b); also C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in*

Tübingen, Reutlingen, 1924, pl. 29, E 108. The Kodros painter's cup in Würzburg (Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 159, 491), though the pattern has suffered sadly, seems to represent a closely similar stage. In the early fourth century the development toward naturalism is complete. On carefully painted pieces the place of the central stem is sometimes taken by a series of intertwining tendrils (*C.V.A.*, Collection Mouret, pl. 3). Coarser work of the time also shows an asymmetrical tendency (Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 161, 493). Very similar ornament appears on Campanian pieces (*ibid.*, pl. 249, 885).



Fig. 19. 8. Kantharos. Scale 1:1 (From a Water Color)

9. (P 2323) Black-glazed sherd decorated in clay-color

Max. dim., 0.09 m.

This unusual fragment seems to come from the wall, near the rim, of a calyx-krater. Glaze excellent inside; good outside. Carelessly painted ivy pattern, without tendrils.

10. (P 2285) Large black-glazed cup-kotyle with stamped decoration. Figs. 1, 5, 9, 20, 21

H., 0.082 m. D., at rim 0.178 m., at base 0.09 m.

A part of the rim and of one handle restored. The lip offset inside only; the foot moulded, and the underside, with reserved circles colored pink, and a dot and circle on the reserved centre. Stamped inside, rosette, ovules, linked palmette, ovules. Excellent glaze and fabric.



Fig. 20. Profiles of Black-glazed Cups and Cup-Kotylai

11. (P 2286) Large black-glazed cup-kotyle with stamped decoration. Figs. 1, 5, 20

H., 0.079 m. D., at rim 0.18 m., at base 0.091 m.

Considerable portions of rim and walls, and one handle restored. Shape same as no. 10. Stamped inside, rosette, ovules, linked palmettes, small dotted circles, linked palmettes, ovules. Excellent glaze and fabric.

Although the stemless cup with lip offset on the inside only (as *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 48, 1) is the common vehicle for the best of Attic stamped patterns, the deep shape of this pair is unusual. The profiles shown in Figure 20 suggest its origin, a simple deepening of the cup shape (98), encouraged perhaps by the contemporary prevalence of kotylai (12). 114, 115, 116 are its successors; the series covers close on a hundred years. A silver representative, dated, by the hoard of coins with which it was found, to the end of the fifth century, has been found at Vouni (*Illustrated London News*, Nov. 9, 1929).

The small, round bodied cup found in this same hoard, decorated with egg and ray pattern, gives, despite its shape, a clearer notion of the relation between stamped wares and their metal prototypes than do some of the more elaborate engraved silver pieces. We may properly, however, compare with the best stamped work the phiale with chariot-scenes, found at Baschova-Mogila (Filow and Welkow, *Jahrb.*, 45, 1930, p. 287, fig. 7 and pl. 8). There seems no reason, on stylistic grounds, to place this piece later than the third quarter of the fifth century. The palmettes which surround the boss are not far from those of our 107 (Fig. 6).

12. (P 2293) Black-glazed cup-kotyle with stamped decoration. Figs. 20 and 21

H., 0.074 m. D., at rim 0.14, at base 0.10 m.

More than half the sides and rim restored; the start of one handle preserved. Deep heavy shape; a wheel-run groove below the rim, outside. Ring foot, reserved inside, with dot and circle decoration. Stamped at the centre, a palmette cross, carelessly linked; outside, a circle of eggs; then six palmettes. Good glaze; a reserved groove above the foot.

For the pattern compare a small bowl from a grave in Kameiros (P. Jacobsthal, *Die Melischen Reliefs*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 115, 116; figs. 23, 24). One of the most persistent of stamped arrangements, but not necessarily late. A cup-kotyle with moulded foot, to be seen in Thebes among the finds from the Thespians' grave, provides an excellent parallel, though without the outer ring of palmettes.

13–16. (P 2295, 2296, 2309, 2308) Small black-glazed cup-kotylai with stamped decoration

13. Fig. 21. H., 0.05 m. D., at rim 0.105 m., at base 0.069 m. About half the rim and both handles missing. Stamped decoration, a circle of eggs, pointing in; outside them, linked palmettes.

14. Figs. 20 and 21. H., 0.051 m. D., at rim 0.118 m., at base 0.074 m. Nearly half of the rim, one handle and most of the other missing. Stamped decoration, a dotted circle on which rest four palmettes.

15. Fig. 10. H., 0.05 m. Less than a third of base, rim, and sides preserved. Stamped decoration, a small circle of ovules; outside it, four (?) palmettes, two preserved.

16. Fig. 21. D., base 0.076 m. The base and a bit of the wall preserved. Stamped decoration, a circle of stopped meanders; then six palmettes.

Shallower than 12, these cups all show not its rounded foot, but a flaring ring flattened on top. The shape is close to that seen here in 105, fig. 22, though the fabric of the stamped pieces is in most cases rather finer. Within the foot, all are reserved, with dot and circle decoration. The character and quality of the glaze, as of the stamped decoration, are extremely uneven. The broken circle of 14 suggests the later developments of "rouletting." A further stage may be illustrated by some of the stamped ware found at Lindos (Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Berlin, 1931, p. 658, fig. 68), but neither this form of decoration nor rouletting proper, appears in the votive deposit which predates 407 B.C. (*ibid.*, pp. 658-660). So far as evidence from the Agora shows, rouletting is hardly well established before the second quarter of the fourth century. Cf. 114. Its predominant position by the middle of the century can be seen in the finds from Olynthos. For the meander of 16, cf. Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, II, 3, pl. 90, 1284. The pattern is commoner on contemporary amphoriskoi than on cups. See below, 97.

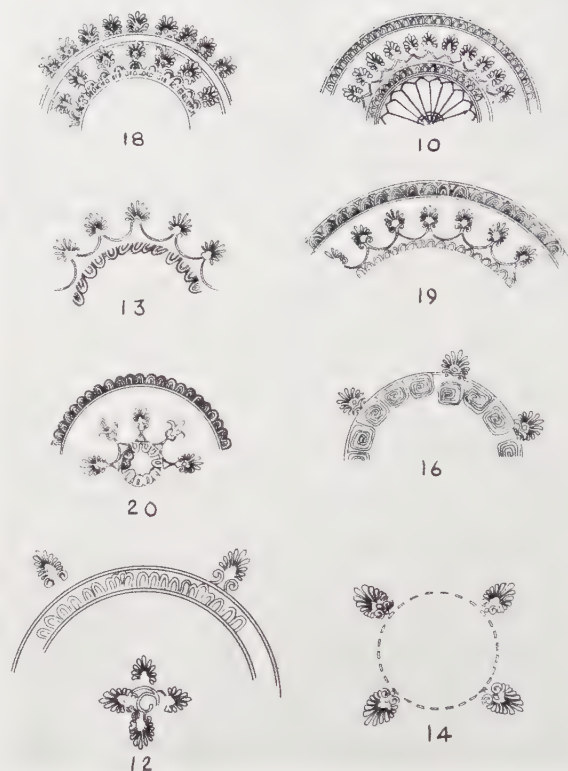


Fig. 21. Black-glazed Stamped Compositions on vases from the Well. Scale ca. 1:2

17. (P 2294) Black-glazed cup-kotyle with stamped decoration. Figs. 10 and 20

H., 0.05 m. D., at rim ca. 0.13 m., at base 0.064 m.

More than half the sides and rim, and part of the bottom, restored. A faint trace of the handle attachment is preserved on both sides. Moulded foot; plain lip; a raised ring around the lower body. Very fine fabric, glazed all over. Stamped decoration, at the centre, palmettes; then a double circle of tongues; then linked palmettes.

Still shallower, in proportion to its width, than those preceding. Among the cup kotylai from Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V) many of which appear to be of this sort, no. 547, pl. 152 should be about contemporary with ours. It may be contrasted with the somewhat later type (to be seen on the same plate) which shows the handles tipped up, and their attachments set closer together, the development the same as in the case of the one-handlers, below, 37 ff. Cf. also Oxford, *C.V.A.*, I, pl. 48, 3, 6, 44.

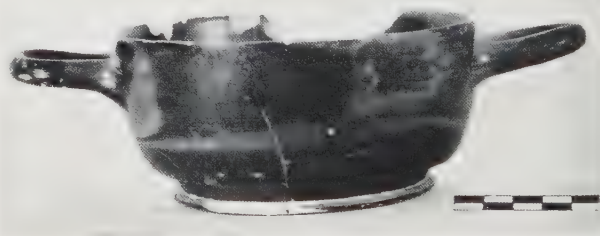


Fig. 22. 105. Cup-Kotyle

18. (P 2292) Fragment of black-glazed cup with stamped decoration. Figs. 20 and 21

P.H., 0.04 m. D., of base 0.048 m.

The base and a small part of the sides preserved; nothing of rim or handles. Small ring foot; steeply rising sides. A reserved line at junction of foot and body. Inside the foot, glazed black, with reserved centre, a dot and two circles in it. Substantial fabric; finest glaze. Stamped decoration, a circle of ovules; then two circles of palmettes. Possibly from a kantharos similar in shape to 8.

- 19-20. (P 2287 and 2288) Black-glazed stemless kylikes with stamped decoration. Figs. 20 and 21

19. H., 0.049 m. D., at rim 0.16 m., at base 0.074 m. One handle, part of the other, and almost half the rim missing. Stamped decoration, a band of linked palmettes between a broad and a narrow band of egg pattern.

20. P.H., 0.035 m. D., at base 0.057 m. Fragment from base to handle only. Stamped decoration, a circle of eggs, pointing in; then linked palmettes and lotus motif, alternating; then a circle of ovules, pointing out.

Both have stout plain ring foot; reserved line at junction of foot and body; inside the foot, reserved, with dot and circle decoration. Plain rim. Substantial fabric; velvety glaze. The lotus motif, as Orsi (*Mon. Line.*, 14, 1904, pp. 757 ff.) noticed, is not very common. Unfortunately his patterns (*ibid.*, p. 919, fig. 117) are divorced from the cups on which they appear; both of the Agora examples, 20 and 104, seem to have been made by the same manufacturer. Among many similar arrangements, but with palmettes only, compare a cup from Rheneia, *Arch. Delt.*, 12, 1929, p. 203, fig. 12, at the left. See also *Olynthus*, V, pl. 153, 560.

A fragmentary cup from the Polyandron of the Thespians, of the same shape as 19 and 20, provides an excellent parallel for the pattern of 19. It shows the inner part of the pattern: ring of eggs and linked palmettes. Not only arrangement, but character and quality of stamp and work are the same.

21. (P 2297) Black-glazed kotyle, Attic type. Fig. 1

H., 0.14 m. D., at rim 0.168 m., at base 0.117 m.

One handle and part of the side restored. Solid ring foot; heavy fabric. Excellent black glaze all over, save on bottom and resting surface of foot. These reserved, washed with pink; concentric circles of glaze at the centre.

A kotyle decorated by the Penelope painter (*Att. V.*, p. 366, 3) is set over against the cups by the Euaichme painter (*Att. V.*, p. 268, 1 and 2), of barely a generation earlier, in Jacobsthal's *Ornamente*, pl. 80. The shape of our piece corresponds precisely with those ornamented by the Penelope painter. In them can be seen a first hint of the double curve in the wall which, within another generation, destroyed alike the beauty and the practicality of this substantial form. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 65, 15.

- 22-32. (P 2298-2307, P 2321) Black-glazed kotylai, Corinthian type

22. H., 0.12 m. D., at rim 0.136 m., at base 0.08 m. Fig. 23.

23. H., 0.11 m. D., at rim 0.116 m., at base 0.059 m. Fig. 1.

24. H., 0.098 m. D., at rim 0.103 m., at base 0.055 m.

25. H., 0.094 m. D., at rim 0.098 m., at base 0.054 m.

26. H., 0.096 m. D., at rim 0.11 m., at base 0.052 m. Fig. 23.

27. H., 0.088 m. D., at rim 0.103 m., at base 0.062 m.

28. H., not preserved; D., at base 0.056 m.

29. H., 0.09 m. D., at rim 0.105 m., at base 0.055 m.

30. H., 0.081 m. D., at rim est. 0.10 m., at base 0.044 m.

31. H., 0.084 m. D., at rim est. 0.10 m., at base 0.054 m.

32. H., 0.081 m. D., of rim 0.086 m., of base 0.043 m. Fig. 23.

Many fragments are missing. Three schemes of decoration appear. The first (22-27) has two red bands around the body just below the handles, a reserved zone, decorated with thin, single-line "rays" just above the foot; and the space within the foot, beneath, reserved, and decorated with concentric circles of glaze. On 24 there is further a black band around the zone of rays, at its top. 27 does not vary in its decoration, but shows an unusually heavy fabric. The second system of decoration is represented by 28; it has a reserved band above the foot, but no rays. The upper part of the wall is not preserved, so we do not know whether or not it had red bands. The four remaining cups have neither reserved zone nor red bands. 30 is glazed all over; the others are reserved beneath, with glazed circle-and-dot. All have the typical curving wall and thin flaring foot. Figure 23 shows the shapes. The glaze is for the most part excellent; occasionally somewhat peeled.

These kotylai, fragile but capacious, are by far the most numerous of the larger drinking cups from our well. Against this array we must set the single example, 21, of the stout-walled variety. Their metallic crispness illustrates the taste of the period no less well than does the stamped decoration of shallower shapes.

For the dating and the antecedents of the shape, cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 65, 17 and 24. Within the third quarter of the fifth century these vases show no very marked changes, though the tendency of

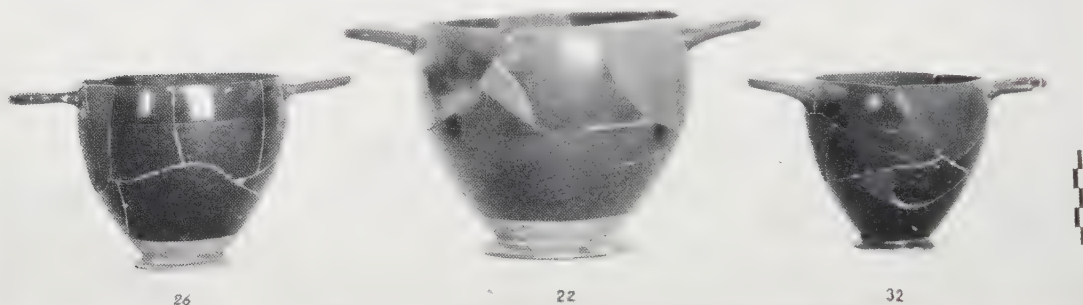


Fig. 23. Black-glazed Kotylai, Corinthian Type

the wall to become more drawn in, both at foot and at rim, is apparent. We may set beside our 22 a red-figured kotyle in Athens, N. M. 13.736, decorated in a manner suggesting the middle of the century. But we may also set beside our same example the cup by the Schuvalow painter, in the Louvre (*Att. V.*, p. 439, 19; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 128), to be dated about 430. In this vase, however, the foot is flat, not flaring as in our pieces. Another kotyle in Athens, N. M. 1246, near the early style of the Meidias painter, has this same flat foot; otherwise its proportions are much the same as those of our 32. Both the examples last cited have crossed rays, not the plain rays of our pieces, around the base. Of two such kotylai in the Thespian collection, one has the crossing, the other the plain rays; both are slightly more contracted above the foot than any of ours. What the shape had become in the first quarter of the fourth century a grave group from Ialysos (G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, III, Rhodes, 1929, p. 159, fig. 152) shows clearly. Among late figured examples we may note one in Athens, N. M. 13.909, picturing Athena and Herakles. The foot is wide, thin, and flat, the walls draw in sharply at the base, where the reserved band carries crossed lines. The sides are steep, the rim bent sharply in, the handles rather long with their attachments set close together. Painted egg pattern around the lip; early fourth century.

33. (P 2289) Fragments of large stemless black-glazed kylix

D., at rim 0.18 m.

Nearly all of the rim preserved; a separate piece, from the lower part of the vase, may belong, but does not join. The start of two handle-attachments remain. The lip which on the inside flares

without a break, as on **107**, is on the outside set off by a thin moulded ring. Finest glaze and fabric. I have found no parallel for this shape, which seems to be a more elaborate version of the small cups **34** and **35**.

34-35. (P 2290, 2291) Black-glazed stemless kylikes with offset lip

34. H., 0.038 m. D., at rim 0.116 m., at base 0.042 m.

35. H., 0.04 m. D., at rim 0.12 m., at base 0.049 m.

About half of **34** restored; on **35**, both handles are missing. These small, shallow cups, of uneven glaze and fabric, have flaring offset lip and small ring foot. A band above the foot is reserved, and the space inside, with glazed circles.

An example nearly identical with **34** belongs to the same deposit as the Dinos painter's kotyle **103**. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 65, 19; another at Thebes, in the Thespian collection. **35** is slightly deeper in proportion to its width, and retains a more pronounced concavity of the lip. It is thus somewhat closer to the fuller bodied type of the second quarter of the century. These examples are not stamped, but the same shape from Rheneia carries a simple stamped pattern to be compared with our **104** (Romaos, *Arch. Delt.*, 12, p. 203, fig. 12, left). In shape the silver Selene cup from Baschova-Mogila (*Jahrb.*, 1930, 45, p. 289, fig. 9, and pl. 9) belongs to this series; its decoration, however, suggests a date nearer the end of the century.

36. (P 2319) Fragment of a black-glazed cup with heavy wishbone handle

P.H., 0.063 m. D., of rim est. ca. 0.20 m.

The handle-space reserved. A raised ring below the lip, above the handle.

Probably from a large stemless cup similar to Athens, N. M. 1237.

37-42. (P 2310-2315, P 2318) Black-glazed one-handlers

37. H., 0.047 m. D., at rim 0.124 m., at base 0.063 m. Fig. 1.

38. H., 0.045 m. D., at rim 0.123 m., at base 0.063 m.

39. H., 0.046 m. D., at rim 0.129 m., at base 0.069 m.

40. H., 0.041 m. D., at rim 0.123 m., at base 0.06 m.

41. H., 0.045 m. D., at rim 0.12 m., at base 0.068 m.

42. H., 0.043 m. D., at rim 0.115 m., at base 0.063 m.

Unlisted fragments of a number of others are preserved.

All have plain lip flat on top, substantial handle level with the rim, and stout ring foot. The reserved areas vary somewhat: **37**, inside of handles and resting surface; **38** and **42** resting surface only; **39** and **41**, glazed all over. **40** has the inside of the handle reserved, and a band at junction of foot and body; also a reserved space, with a circle inside, on the bottom. It is covered with better glaze than most. **42** has a graffito *alpha*, on the bottom inside the foot.

Cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, 48, 41.

So long as stemmed cups remained the prevailing fashion there was little probability that the one-handler would emerge from the obscurity of the kitchen. The contents of a well (cf. **94**) to be dated probably in the seventies, illustrates the status of the shape at that time. A large number of kylikes came from this well, plain black glazed, of a deep shape, as *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 43, 8. Among the other black glazed wares are no one-handlers; but among the partly glazed household pottery the shape appears; fabric, decoration, and proportions are not unlike those of the later example, **68**, illustrated here. Toward the middle of the century, however, the increasing popularity of stemless cups in general (cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, text to pl. 3, 7) combines with the inescapable practicability of the shape to produce the type represented by our half-dozen. Another shape, less common, may have assisted in the transformation, the small stemless cup, namely, with two handles. One such in the Agora (P 790) has the same foot and the same proportions as the one-handlers; but the lip finished off to a sharp edge, and the excellent velvety glaze suggest that some considerations besides those of utility affected its manufacture.

One-handlers are numerous among the finds from the Thespian Polyandron, but most of those which can be seen in the Thebes Museum appear to be of local, not of Attic make; the shape is not one to dismay the provincial potter. Large numbers of similar cups were found at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, pls. 178-181); those most numerous there, and hence most probably in use at the time of the city's destruction, show the rim flat on top, as ours, but have the handle-attachments set closer together, and the handle itself at an angle to the cup. This tendency did away with the cup's chief claim to distinction, its practicability; for such handles break off. The shape lingers on into the later fourth century (*Hesp.* III, 1934, p. 318, fig. 4, A 24), but thereafter the handle-less bowl of Hellenistic times takes its place.

43-44. (P 2316, 2317) Small black-glazed one-handlers

43. H., 0.039 m. D., of rim 0.103 m., of base 0.057 m.

44. H., 0.033 m. D., of rim 0.08 m., of base 0.048 m. Fig. 1.

In no way different from those last described, and with similar divergencies of glaze and reserved areas, these cups are simply a yet more modest version of the common type. Parts of two others, unlisted, were found.

45-48. (P 2344-2347) Black-glazed salt cellars

45. H., 0.026 m. D., at rim 0.078 m., at base 0.055 m.

46. H., 0.024 m. D., at rim 0.053 m., at bottom 0.038 m. Fig. 1.

47. H., 0.027 m. D., at rim 0.052 m.

48. H., 0.026 m. D., at rim 0.056 m., at bottom 0.063 m. Fig. 1.

45 is a small black-glazed bowl, with plain incurving rim and ring foot. 46 and 47, like 45 glazed all over, have plain curving walls, 46 with a flat bottom, 47 with false ring foot formed by the continuation of the walls. The last example is not a small bowl but a heavy, broad-bottomed truncated cone, hollowed above; on its flat reserved bottom is scratched an *alpha*.

Small bowls such as 45 sometimes have stamped decoration inside. An excellent example, smaller, comes from the same context as 96 ff. Another, with rather coarser stamping, can be seen among the vases from the Polyandron of the Thespians at Thebes. Our second type (46, 47) finds illustration also in the Theban collection, and likewise appears, with small variation, at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 175). For the profile of the third type compare Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pl. 131, no. 2752.

49. (P 2320) Low ribbed cup. Fig. 1

H., 0.055 m. D., at rim, as restored, 0.11 m., at base 0.098 m.

About half the wall and all of one handle save the spring restored. Low ring foot. Glazed all over; fired a clear sealing-wax red. A second handle, not joining, almost certainly belongs. A similar cup with two handles has been found in a contemporary deposit; see under 102 below.

A related shape in Toronto (D. M. Robinson and C. G. Harcum, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology Toronto*, Toronto, 1930, Vol. II, pl. 92, 567) has but one handle. Compare a piece from Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 151, 538), from the photograph similar to these.

50-52. (P 2339-2341) Ribbed wide-mouthed jugs. Fig. 1

50. H., 0.138 m. D., 0.14 m.

51. H., 0.067 m. D., 0.066 m.

52. H., 0.095 m. D., as restored 0.096 m.

50 and 51 are complete; much of 52 is restored. All have double handle, flat nicked foot, and a small rope-like moulding at junction of body and rim. 50 and 51 are reserved beneath;

52 is glazed all over. The glaze of all three is excellent, though considerably peeled on **50**. **50** and **51** are lightly ribbed, the grooves set close together; **52** has broad grooves forming a petal pattern, interrupted just below the handle by a band of stamped eggs.

The many uses of this shape, "a dipper, a measure, a taster, or a portable drinking cup" (J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928, p. 60 and see note 1) are well indicated by the variety of sizes in which it was made. **50** is a hospitable pitcher; **51** no more than a small mug. Rather earlier examples are broader at the base, and have the point of greatest circumference lower in the body than ours (*C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 62, 3, 6, and pl. 65, 26). An occasional piece has a ring foot, not the nicked base of ours (Langlotz, *op.cit.*, pl. 222, no. 720).

How close these vases are to their metal prototypes we are reminded by the silver mug found beside a black-glazed one in a grave at Baschova-Mogila (*Jahrb.*, 1930, 45, p. 289, fig. 10 and p. 301, fig. 24), but whether they were acquired with the earlier of the two silver cups found in the same grave, or with the later, the group cannot tell us. From many examples in the Polyandron of the Thespians we know, however, the great popularity of the shape in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. Agora contexts suggest that it was common through the third quarter of the century.



Fig. 24. Squat Lekythoi

With **52** compare a petal-ribbed example in Oxford (*C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 48, 15). Whether there is any distinguishable difference in date between the appearance of the petal-pattern and of the plain narrow-set ribs, I do not know. Both occur, side by side, as here, in other Agora contexts of the third quarter of the century; ribbed mugs, for instance, with the amphoriskoi, **96**, **97**. We may, however, distinguish between all such decoration, lightly grooved with a blunt stick, and the heavy moulded ribs usual in the fourth century. This same shallow ribbing with the grooves in groups of two or three, appears sometimes on these mugs, but it seems commoner on squat lekythoi, as on one from Rheneia (*Arch. Delt.*, 12, 1929, p. 207, fig. 19).

53-58. (P 2330, 2331, 2329, 2332, 2333, 2334) Black-glazed squat lekythoi

- 53.** P.H., 0.11 m. Max. D., 0.07 m. Fig. 1.
- 54.** P.H., 0.081 m. Max. D., 0.049 m. Fig. 24.
- 55.** P.H., 0.129 m. Max. D., 0.10 m. Fig. 24.
- 56.** P.H., 0.065 m. Max. D., 0.061 m. Fig. 24.
- 57.** P.H., 0.102 m. Max. D., 0.092 m. Fig. 24.
- 58.** P.H., 0.038 m. Max. D., 0.041 m. Fig. 24.

The lip of **53** is restored. All have ring foot, reserved beneath. **53** and **54** have simple decoration on a reserved band just below the shoulder; running dog between bands on the one, three narrow bands on the other. The others are covered with glaze, good, but on the miniature **58** much worn. The shapes vary widely, from the nearly straight-sided (**53**, **54**), to the bulging profile of **56**.

With **57** compare the body of the Schuvalow painter's squat oinochoe, *Att. V.*, p. 439, 18; also a jug in Oxford, *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 63, 3. For **55** see Langlotz, *op.cit.*, pl. 209, 574, dated at about 460; compare also two lekythoi from Ialysos (*Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 248, fig. 245) found in a tomb including a hydria by the Niobid painter (*C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, p. vi) and a melon-ribbed lekythos. For squat lekythoi with stamped patterns, compare *Mon. Linc.*, 14, 1904, p. 811, fig. 31; also H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt, 1923, pl. 58, 1.

59-62. (P 2335-2338) Small black-glazed olpai

59. H., 0.133 m. Max. D., 0.07 m. Fig. 1.

60. H., 0.101 m. Max. D., 0.057 m.

61. H., 0.102 m. Max. D., 0.055 m.

62. H., 0.088 m. Max. D., 0.052 m.

Most of the rim and handle of **59** restored; **60** lacks the lower part of the handle; **61** part of one side. The glaze, of varying quality, has peeled from much of **62**. All four jugs have a sharply out-turned lip and a flat base projecting slightly, reserved beneath. **59** is more slender, with the point of greatest circumference set higher than its fellows.

An extremely conservative shape. It may perhaps be worth noting that sixth century representatives found in the Agora show a straighter, less sharply out-turned lip, and have either a high flaring foot, or no foot at all, not the projecting base of the examples illustrated here.

A fragment of a similar jug from the Polyandrion of the Thespians has a moulded ring at the base of the neck just above the handle attachment, and carries stamped decoration, of egg-pattern and palmettes, the latter a heavy type, not linked, similar to those on the cup-kotyle, **14**. A good plain example, very like our plumper type is in Würzburg (Langlotz, *op.cit.*, pl. 222, no. 687); another (*ibid.*, pl. 254, 678) is listed as Hellenistic and described as having "sigillata-ähnliche Lasur." On the use of red glaze in Hellenistic times, see *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 430, note 1; and compare the sealing-wax red of our **49**. For early fourth century types, with rather more elongated body and shorter handle, compare those found at Pontamo (A. Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos*, II, p. 121, fig. 3; p. 122, fig. 4). There are numbers of small jugs of similar size and shape from Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 164, 165), but none on which the handle is preserved provides any accurate comparison for ours.

63. (P 2350) Black-glazed askos

H., 0.04 m. D., of base 0.037 m.

About two-thirds of the top and sides, the handle, and the spout missing. The high type, with small central opening through the body. The somewhat concave bottom projects slightly; reserved beneath. Fragments of three others, similar, are not listed.

Another conservative shape. The examples decorated by Makron (*Att. V.*, p. 221, 156; and p. 475, 156 bis, *C.V.A.*, Rhode Island School of Design, III, 1c, pl. 17, 4) differ from ours chiefly in the flatter top, the sharper angle at the shoulder, and the straighter-set spout. In the fourth century the low type takes precedence; there seems to be none of our sort from Olynthos. For the high type in the fourth century, often with a head in relief on the top, see *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 48, 30; and compare pl. 47, 15 and 17. A similar piece appears in an early fourth century grave at Ialysos (*Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 160, fig. 153).

64-65. (P 2348, 2349) Small pyxides

64. H., 0.017 m. D., of top 0.068 m.

65. H., 0.017 m. D., of top 0.065 m.

Both are glazed inside and around the outer edge only. Good smooth fabric. A groove around the underside, near its outer edge. Nothing was found of the high cylindrical lids which should accompany such small boxes.

66. (P 2342) Black-glazed plate, reserved bands. Fig. 1

H., 0.024 m. D., at rim 0.154 m., at base 0.107 m.

About a third of the rim restored. Alternating bands glazed and reserved on both inside and outside. Good glaze; substantial fabric. Plain ring foot; broad curving rim pierced for suspension.

67. (P 2351) Black-glazed handleless krater, reserved bands. Fig. 17

H., 0.143 m. D., at rim 0.178 m., at base 0.128 m.

Small pieces of bottom and sides missing. Heavy ring foot, the wall sharply profiled above it; plain rim broadly flaring. Reserved, edge of bottom and resting surface of foot, a band around the outside, and the outer and upper edges of the lip. Fragments of another similar bowl, unlisted, remain.

This bowl and the plate last described provide a transition from the black-glazed wares, more or less fine, to the heavy household pots which are glazed largely for purposes of utility. Both plate and bowl are of a substantial, not coarse, fabric, carefully made, and covered with good though uneven glaze.

The shape of the krater is not a common one. A bowl in the National Museum in Athens, N. M. 1616, offers, however, an approximation, though there the foot is somewhat lower and wider, and the projecting rim, flat on top, is a separate member, not continuous with the curve of the wall as on our piece. This bowl is decorated in red-figure with women running away from a door and looking back. It belongs to the same time and general style as does our pyxis, 2.

68. (P 2356) One-handler, partly glazed. Fig. 16

H., 0.064 m. D., of rim 0.176 m., at bottom *ca.* 0.095 m.

A low ring foot has been in part cut away. Otherwise the shape is as 37 ff., though with the walls less carefully rounded. Heavy fabric, the smoothed surface pinkish buff; thin glaze inside, on the top of the lip, on the handle, for a band around the outside, and another inside the foot.

69–71. (P 2353–2355) Plain kraters, partly glazed

69. H., 0.219 m. D., at rim 0.385 m., at base 0.155 m. Fig. 16.

70. H., 0.237 m. D., at rim 0.368 m., at base 0.16 m. Fig. 25.

71. H., 0.128 m. D., at rim 0.213 m., at base est. 0.105 m. Fig. 16.

Fragments of many others, unlisted, remain. All have ring foot and rolling rim. The two horizontal handles are set either just below the rim (69, 70), or lower on the body, as on 71. Interior, top of rim, and handles are glazed; there is also usually a band of glaze part way down the outside wall, and another round the foot. The glaze is thin, and may be red, brown, or black. In some cases the clay-colored exterior seems to be not only rubbed smooth, but also covered with a wash of almost transparent glaze.

A good example, carried by a satyr, on the Euaion painter's cup in Frankfurt (*Att. V.*, p. 356, no. 13); another on a cup by the Pan painter (J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, Berlin, 1931, no. 72; *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 7, 3, 4). Both these show the handles set rather lower on the wall than in 69 and 70, and upturned, as in 71. It is this relationship of handle to rim which we find in examples of the second quarter of the century; 94, for instance, from the well beneath the Zeus Stoa, already mentioned (p. 507). The progress of the handle toward the rim ends in an example from the early fourth century, 113, on which the edge of the rim seems to push the handles into a downward slope. The bowls of Hellenistic times which in shape most nearly recall our pieces are without handles (*Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 348, C 6; p. 397, E 50); the lekanides which functionally replace them have their

handles crumpled beneath the rim (*ibid.*, p. 415, E 119). On Fig. 25 is given a series of these basins stretching from the late sixth century into the early fourth; changes in profile and arrangement are clearly apparent.

Such bowls were no prerogative of Athenian housewives. Compare a related shape found at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 182, 943). The method of decoration further, is too simple and practical one to be confined to any single locality. It reappears, though on a different series of shapes, in local Italian fabrics of the third century (Agnes K. Lake, *Bolletino dell'Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei*, V, 1934-35, pp. 103 ff., 113).

72-73. (P 2026 and 2352) Amides. Fig. 16

72. H., 0.30 m. D., 0.157 m.

73. H., 0.272 m. D., 0.162 m.

Both have small parts restored. The characteristic high-looped handle illustrated with **72** belongs probably not to it but to another similar pot. This example has a flat bottom; **73**, rather more carefully made and of a somewhat finer fabric, has a ring foot. It has also a wash of very thin

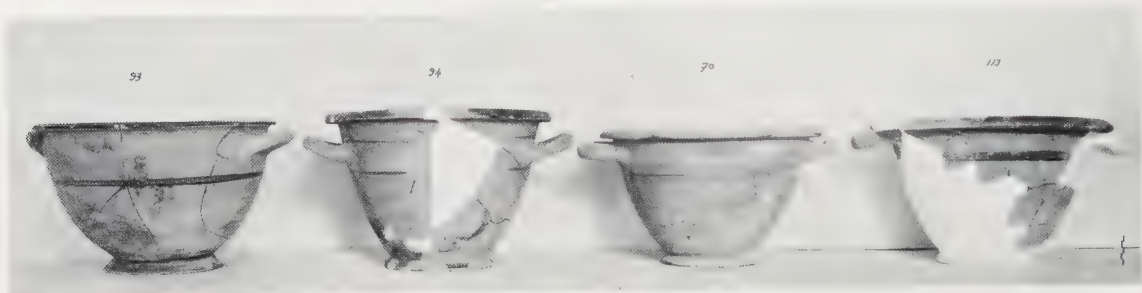


Fig. 25. Partly-glazed Kraters. Sixth to Fourth Centuries

reddish glaze over the outside as well as the inside; heavier red on the hood, the handle, the foot, and for two bands on the body. **72** has thin black glaze inside and bands of brownish black outside. Fabric and method of decoration parallel those of the partly glazed kraters, **69-71**. Fragments of several other similar pots have been found in contemporary deposits.

74. (P 2365) Partly glazed amphora

H., 0.358 m. D., 0.28 m.

The handles are missing but the attachments of one remain. Ring foot, heavy ovoid body, narrow neck spreading to profiled lip. The thin red wash which covers the outside resembles that on **73**. Heavier glaze, brownish black, on the lip, the edge of the foot, and for a band around the shoulder. Fragments of two others, unglazed, are preserved.

75. (P 2361) Plain askos. Fig. 16

H., 0.205 m. D., at base 0.072 m.

Parts of wall, spout, and handle restored. The clay is a greenish buff, reddish at the core, sandy to the touch; not a common Attic fabric. This and the remaining pots from our well are unglazed. Compare *Olynthus*, V, pl. 28 (P 43) and pl. 192, 1066; and see *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 341. Ours has a more swelling profile than have these examples.

76. (P 5486) Fragment of a cooking pot

H., 0.10 m.

One handle, with a bit of rim and wall, remain. Micaceous reddish-brown clay with grey core, blackened from use. Probably from a round-bodied one-handled pot something as *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 334, fig. 8, A 57. In our fragment the rim is more marked, the bulge of the wall more immediate, and the handle closer to the body than in this later example.

77-79. (P 2358-2360) Casseroles

77. D., at rim 0.256 m.

78. H., as restored, 0.085 m. D., at rim 0.229 m. Fig. 16.

79. H., ca. 0.065 m. D., at rim 0.183 m. Fig. 16.

Of 77 only the rim remains; 78 and 79 have considerable portions of floor and walls restored. All have watch-shaped body (cf. *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 466), steep flaring rim flanged inside to receive a lid; two horizontal handles, sloping up, and, in the centre of one side, a small, nearly vertical, spoutlike attachment. Thin fabric, red to brown micaceous clay, blackened outside from use. Cf. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pp. 622-623, no. 2592, from the votive deposit, before 407; also A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Munich, 1906, p. 458, no. 267; pl. 127, fig. 18.

The clay of these cooking pots closely resembles that of the wine-storage amphorae which bear the coin-type stamp of Chios (see p. 477, note 2). The variations from red to brown are the same in the casseroles as in the wine-jars; the clay, moderately fine, but with many small white intrusions, has the same sandy texture. The casseroles are thinner walled. Otherwise, the fabrics are, if not identical, at least very closely related.

The fabric seems extraordinarily thin for such utilitarian pots. The bottoms, indeed, burned out easily; on the Agora examples they are seldom intact. Possibly quick cooking compensated for frequent breakage. A similar thin fabric appears, however, in other pots intended for practical purposes. Hydriae and water pitchers of micaceous brown clay, often handmade and of extraordinary fineness, are not included in our group, but appear in contexts from the sixth into the fourth century. It is one of these handmade water-pitchers, with characteristic sloping cylindrical handle, which the girl on the Penthesilea painter's cup (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, Cambridge, 1918, p. 131, fig. 82), decked out with dignity though she be, is carrying to the well. The trip home was sure to be laborious; but the lightness of the pitcher made the first half of the journey as easy as possible.

80. (P 5487) Fragment of a large cooking pot. Fig. 26

D., at lip 0.176 m.

The high vertical rim has a small flange well down inside. On the shoulder, a vertical spout, not pierced through. Fragments from the wall of the large rounded body remain. Slightly micaceous russet clay, pared smooth outside. Thin fabric similar to that of the casseroles.

Such a cooking pot, mentioned above, p. 495, comes from the same well as the partly glazed krater, 94. Its hollow, entirely usable, spout suggests not only that the spout on the piece here described was a reminiscence of some such arrangement, but also that the spouts of the casseroles (77-79) had a similar ancestry.

81. (P 2357) Mortar with spout. Fig. 26

H., 0.099 m. D., at rim 0.336 m., at base 0.21 m.

Most of the spout missing. A shallow bowl with ring base and slightly thickened flaring rim. Very coarse pink clay with large white bits; buff slip.

A heavy fabric, apparently Attic, distinct from the sandy buff of mortars from the fourth and later centuries (*Hesp.*, III, 1934, pp. 416, 440).

82. (P 2362) Shallow brazier on stand. Fig. 27

H., 0.153 m. D., at rim *ca.* 0.44 m.

Parts of the floor and stand restored; one handle missing. The round basin has a broad nearly flat rim, on which are two vertical projections (one here missing). The clay a gritty buff. Blackened inside from use.

The projections from the rim look like nothing so much as knife-rests. They might have served to support a large cooking pot, but upon the contents of so considerable a vessel the few coals which the basin beneath might accommodate could have, it would seem, but little effect. They could serve very well, however, as rests for small spits. On the Attic origin of these pieces, as contrasted with their Hellenistic successors, see *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 467.

83. (P 5488) Fragment of deep brazier

H., 0.08 m.

The fragment preserves part of the rim, from which project inward, a lug for supporting a pot, and upward, a small knob. The lower edge of the fragment is cut off smooth: for a door for the coals. Micaceous red clay, brownish surface, with traces of use. Fabric similar to the casseroles, but much more substantial. The shape the same as **106**, Fig. 27.

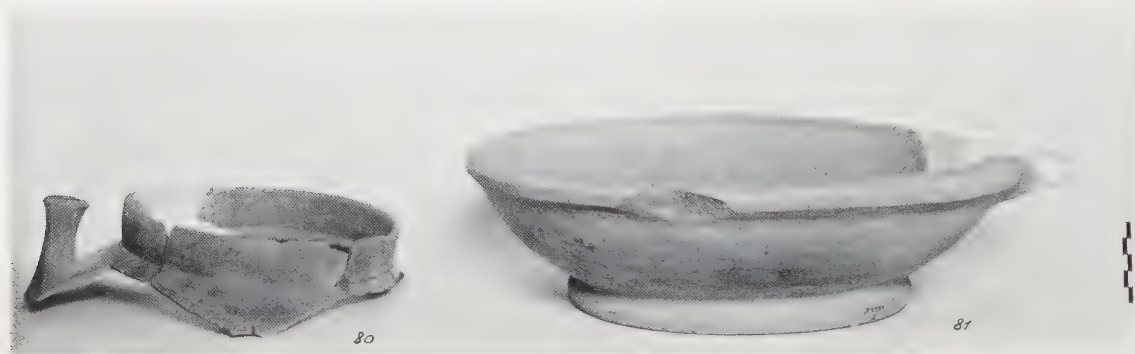


Fig. 26. Fragmentary Cooking Pot and Mortar

84. (P 2519) Fragment of a large stamnos

D., at lip 0.24 m. Max. D. preserved, below handles *ca.* 0.475 m.

The top part only remains, filled out with plaster. No neck; a small vertical lip surrounds the large mouth. On the shoulders are two large horizontal handles and four small knobs. The dark red fabric, thin and very micaceous, resembles that of the casseroles, **77-79**.

85-88. (SS 1845, P 2366, SS 1844, P 2375) Wine amphorae. Fig. 17

85. H., 0.73 m. D., 0.32 m.

86. H., 0.79 m. D., 0.31 m. Fig. 28 *a*.

87. H., 0.61 m. D., 0.35 m.

88. H., 0.565 m. D., 0.39 m.

A large part of the neck and shoulder of **85** restored; parts also of **86**; **87** and **88** lack small pieces from the walls. The clay is respectively reddish; a coarse pink, slipped with buff; dull brownish; and buff.

In shape no less than in fabric these types are clearly differentiated. We need not separate **85** (*Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 303, no. 1) from the certainly Chian examples. The large bulge in the neck, just below the rim, which appears on **86**, is not, however, found on known stamped examples. Two jars

closely related in shape appear among the finds from Naukratis (W. M. Flinders Petrie et al., *Naukratis*, Part I, 1884-85, London, 1886, pl. 16, 7 and pl. 17, 23). Some such pot as these the maker of the little amphoriskos in New Haven had perhaps in mind (Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 239, no. 502. The ivy pattern with which this miniature version is ornamented suggests a date not later than the beginning of the fourth century). On **87**, a stamp, an uncertain symbol (*Hesp.*, III, 1931, p. 304, no. 2) is placed on the neck just below the lip, as is the stamp on **85**; it bears, further, under one handle, a dipinto *epsilon*. In shape **88** might have stood as model for the Sykeus painter's pot (*Att. V.*, p. 160, 5; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 71 b). Added in red paint are, beneath the handle, the letters *mu omicron*; near the bottom of the pot, a narrow band of this paint, and, between this band and the tip, a small flower-like device, two rounded and a pointed central petal, similarly painted. Two other jars of this shape carry dipinti: one has, under either handle, the letter *eta*; the other, a *phi* painted on one side of the neck.

It is not possible here to discuss the epigraphical implications of the graffiti (Fig. 28) which appear on these and other wine-jars from our well. To our notes on the character of the jars we may add, however, a few tentative suggestions as to the methods of marking employed. The graffito shown on Fig. 28 *a* appears, running downwards, on the neck of **86** (Fig. 17); *b* and *c* are on jars of

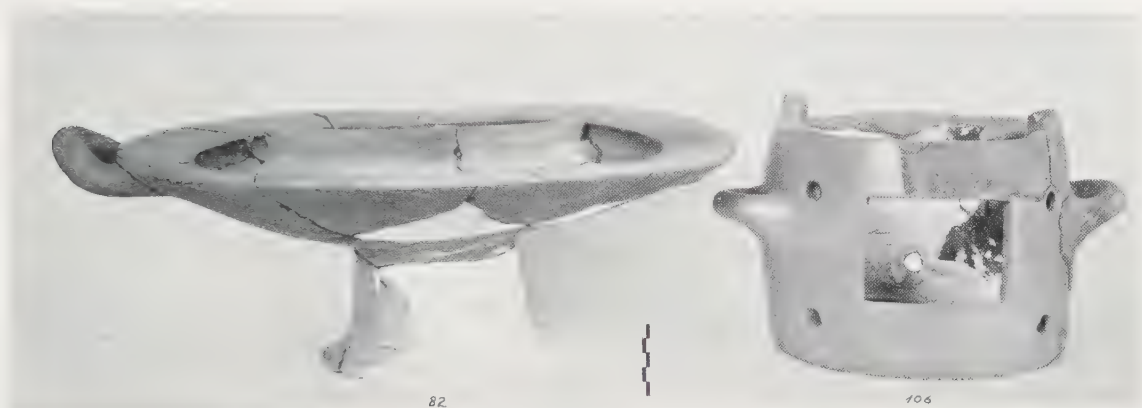


Fig. 27. Braziers

this same shape and fabric; in the case of *d*, the fabric is the same, but the fragment is too small to enable us to ascertain the size and shape of the jar. Fig. 28 *e* and *f* occur on jars of Chian profile similar to **85** (Fig. 17).

In *a* the first four letters are difficult to explain; the remainder, though somewhat garbled toward the end, may be read as *δεκατέσσερες* (or *δεκατέτροες*?). On *b* the price is not written out: an alphabetic system of numbering is employed (W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, Munich, 1914, pp. 293 ff.; B. Keil, *Hermes*, 29, 1894, pp. 249 ff.). We note that the writer, in beginning to make the $\overline{\text{H}}$ which stands for six, realized that he had started too far to the left, and that the price mark would not appear in the middle of the jar; he thus began over again. Possibly the system he wished to employ was not very familiar to him; in any case, before he could set down his next figure, H, he had to count up to eight by the primitive straight-stroke method. At last, however, he succeeds in inscribing six and eight, to make, again, fourteen. The writer of *c* was affected by no systems. Wishing to write *τέσσερες καὶ δέκα* he sets down, first, four strokes, and then another which serves to link the small horizontal strokes making ten. (Echoes of some such method perhaps appear in the horizontal strokes indicating fractions, to be seen on the Halikarnassos inscription, Keil, *loc. cit.*) This arrangement made the price immediately visible and comprehensible to the purchaser, as it would not have been if the series of long strokes had been continued round the pot to total fourteen (cf. M. N. Tod, *B.S.A.*, 18, 1911-1912, p. 130, 132). On *d* we have $\overline{\text{C}}$ standing for six, plus five short strokes to make eleven.

The graffito *e* is difficult of interpretation according to an alphabetic system of numbering; it might possibly represent a version of the acrophonic as employed in some locality where Σ was used to indicate the fraction of an obol (Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 125). The price would then be five drachmae, two obols, and a fraction; or possibly seven drachmae, and a fraction of an obol. On the remaining jar, of the same type as the last, we appear to have the alphabetic system again, E standing for five, plus two strokes to make seven (but cf. also Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 118; according to the acrophonic system as employed in Chios this price might read 102!).

Our knowledge of the humbler systems of computation employed in the fifth century is too limited to enable us to consider these suggestions except with the greatest caution. The foreign origin of the wine concerned is apparent. It has, however, been demonstrated (Rudolf Hackl, "Merkantile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen," *Münchener archäologische Studien*, Munich, 1909, pp. 8 ff.) that the alphabetic system was employed in Attica in the early fifth century for price marks scratched

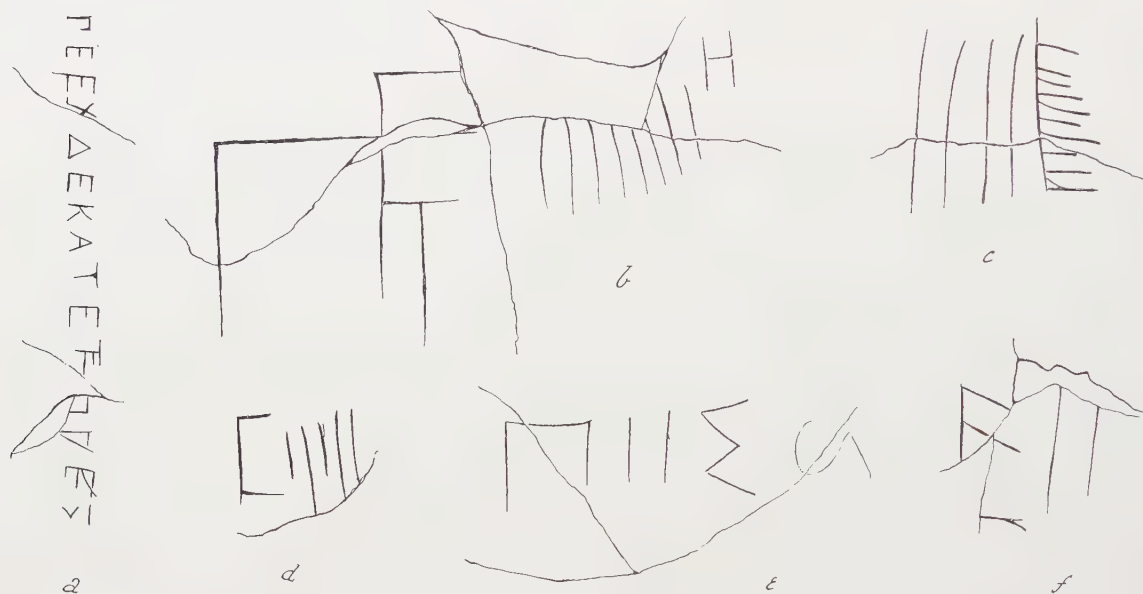


Fig. 28. Graffiti on Wine Amphorae

upon vases. We need not suppose that at any subsequent time it disappeared completely from view or that, as employed by our Ionian wine merchants, it would have been incomprehensible to any literate fifth-century Athenian. For the acrophonic and the alphabetic methods used side by side in Ionia, cf. G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig, 1898, I, 11, a-d; Keil, *loc. cit.*; Larfeld, *loc. cit.* That two of our inscribed jars, *e* and *f*, may, from the fabric, well come from Chios, has already been noted. It should be from some one of the other wine-producing islands of that vicinity that the jars with bulging neck (Fig. 17, 86; Fig. 28, *a-d*) were exported both to Athens and to Naukratis.

89-92. (L 1110-1113) Black-glazed lamps

89. L., 0.095 m. H., 0.02 m. W., 0.079 m. Fig. 1.

90. L. not complete; H., 0.026 m. W., 0.081 m.

91. H., 0.022 m. L., of nozzle 0.034 m. (two fragments).

92. H., 0.025 m.

89 lacks the handle and part of the rim, the latter restored; 90 lacks handle and nozzle; 91 and 92 are fragments only. The first three, with low curving walls, horizontal band handle, and broad,

nearly flat foot, reserved, belong to the shallow variety of Type IV (Oscar Broneer, *Corinth*, Volume IV, Part II, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930). The fourth shows the ridged rim of Type V (*ibid.*). Evidence from the Agora indicates that lamps of Type IV were those most commonly in use for at least the middle fifty years of the fifth century. Type V is contemporaneous, but rarer, and usually more carefully made. A lamp of Type IV, but with a central cone, found at Camarina (*Mon. Linc.*, 14, 1904, p. 818, fig. 35), is decorated around the rim with stamped palmettes recalling those of our cup, **18**. One of Type V, found on the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 90, 1286) is ornamented with a palmette stamp which, even in its defects, closely resembles that used on our cup, **95**.

VASES FROM OTHER DEPOSITS: **93-117**

93. (P 1219) Partly glazed krater. Fig. 25

From a well near the southwest corner of the Agora, with a large variety of vases from the later sixth century.

H., 0.249 m. D., at rim 0.38 m., at base 0.187 m.

The foot a heavy torus, the walls swelling, the rim narrow, nearly flat on top. Two horizontal handles, upturned, set below the rim. Transparent glaze wash on the outside; inside, on the rim and foot, and for a band around the body, dull brownish black glaze.

94. (P 5160) Partly glazed krater. Fig. 25

From a well found beneath the floor of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Figured wares, kalos-inscriptions, and vase shapes alike suggest that the well was filled in about 480-460.

H., 0.259 m. D., 0.372 m.

A few fragments from the wall restored. Ring foot; upturned handles; down-turned rim. Black glaze inside and on the rim; also for two bands on the outside (above and below the handles) and another around the base. The graffiti which appear on this pot, inside, outside, and beneath, will be published elsewhere.

95. (P 5332) Black-glazed stemless cup with stamped decoration. Figs. 5, 20

From a well to the southwest of the Tholos (Section B, well 5). The pottery contents of this well belong to the second and third quarters of the fifth century, the earliest figured piece being a fragment of a lekythos by the painter of the Bowdoin Box (P 5243), the latest, probably, an askos (P 5330) not far removed from **3**.

P.H., 0.039 m. D., of base 0.105 m.

Nothing of the lip is preserved. The rim is lightly set off on the inside, plain on the outside. Excellent glaze all over, including the carefully moulded underside.

96. (P 5276) Black-glazed amphoriskos, ribbed and stamped decoration. Fig. 12

From a well to the south of the Tholos (Section B, well 2), with a variety of figured wares from the third quarter of the fifth century, the earliest (P 5192) a stemless cup near the painter of London E 777, the latest a small fragment of an oinochoe (P 5482) probably by the Eretria painter. The glaze on the best stamped pieces in this group, notably the amphoriskoi, is of a fine blue-black, identical with that used on the red-figured squat lekythoi, as **103**, from the same deposit.

P.H., 0.172 m. D., 0.082 m.

One handle, and the tip and fragments from the wall missing. On the shoulder, stamped meander below tongues. On the upper body, petal-ribbing; below this, stamped meander and palmettes, inverted, with interlacing stems; small volute-stamps between the loops. For an early type of interlace on a cup, see Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 90, 1267, contemporary with our well group.

97. (P 5259) Black-glazed amphoriskos, stamped decoration. Fig. 12

Provenience as 96.

H., 0.175 m. D., 0.081 m.

Both handles, and the tip, missing. On the shoulder, egg-pattern and meander; around the body a band of stamped meander; above and below it linked palmettes, with small stamped volutes. From the same shop as 96.

On the shape and antecedents of such pieces, see *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 40, 3-4 and 10, and the references there. The character of the decoration of our examples, and their large size, suggest that they are among the earlier of such pieces. A similar vase, recently acquired by the National Museum in Athens, belongs to the same series. This piece shows us the origin of the scroll pattern common on somewhat later amphoriskoi; on it the potter has stamped the little volutes from the base of his palmette stamp (see above, p. 484) back to back, thus producing the effect of a scroll. But a special stamp for the scroll would be easier to use; nor was he long in making it. It seems unnecessary to relegate this scroll motif to the fourth century (cf. Graef-Langlotz, *op.cit.*, pl. 91, 1279; the shape that of our mugs, 50-52).

The amphoriskos N.M.3088 is decorated with meander, scrolls, and interlaced spindly palmettes; on the shoulder it carries a painted ivy pattern recalling that of our kantharos, 8. An example in Thebes (Thespian collection) shows the same spindly palmette. So far as stamped decoration goes, this motif seems to be the prerogative of amphoriskoi. The same long central stem, with petals branching in pairs along its length, is used, however, by vase painters; we may find it for instance among the embroidered decoration of Pelops' chiton, on the amphora in Arezzo, *Att.V.*, p. 464, 57. The varieties of palmette-types which may be counted on this single vase afford an interesting parallel to the diversity of types which, as we have seen, were employed at one and the same time by the makers of stamped patterns.

Probably a large proportion of the stamped amphoriskoi which are to be found in various collections commonly dated in the fourth century belong actually to the fifth, as comparisons of stamped patterns will determine. A fragment in the Agora (P 5105) showing the fine style in its full development, was found with a calyx-krater near the earlier manner of the Eretria painter (P 5107), hardly to be dated after 430. Around the body is a band of meander; above and below it, eggs; beyond these, above and below, palmettes exactly as those of our 10, not linked but set close together. Above the tip is another row of palmettes, made with a different stamp, the petals slightly broader and more rounding. An example in the Athens Museum, N.M. 10456, with ribbed lower body and fat palmettes sharply outlined in the manner of our 108, may belong to the latest fifth century. Some, however, and they are for the most part very small, show the large curving palmettes of the full fourth. Of these are Athens, N.M. 10455 and N.M. 12617. Compare also one from a grave in Thrace, decorated with impressed circles only; other finds with it suggest a date not later than mid-fourth century (*Arch. Anz.*, 1918, p. 6, fig. 4 c). Another, from Alexandria, is presumably of the late fourth (R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition E. von Sieglin*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 21, fig. 27). For its palmette, cf. *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 431, fig. 115, A 14.

98. (P 5242) Fragmentary black-glazed stemless cup, stamped decoration. Figs. 6, 20

Provenience as 96.

H., 0.05 m. D. est. 0.172 m.

Most of the floor, but only a small part of the rim preserved. The rim offset inside, plain outside. Plain ring foot, lightly moulded inside, reserved, with circle and dot decoration. Within, rosette, linked eggs, then tongue pattern. Good black glaze, in part fired red outside.

For the egg stamp used thus as an independent unit, cf. Graef-Langlotz, *op.cit.*, pl. 90, 1218, where it appears in groups of three, linked and alternating with a palmette.

99. (P 5194) Fragment of black-glazed stemless cup, stamped decoration. Fig. 8

Provenience as 96.

D., of foot 0.105 m.

Only a fragment from the floor remains, with part of a plain ring foot, the resting surface reserved. Inside it, reserved, washed with pink, and decorated with glazed circles. Stamped, around a central palmette, linked palmettes, then eggs, linked palmettes, and double volutes.

Fragments of another cup made with the same palmette stamp and in the same heavy careless style come from this well (P 5248).

100. (P 5247) Fragmentary glazed bowl, stamped decoration. Fig. 10

Provenience as 96.

D., of foot 0.069 m.

Plain ring foot; incurving sides; none of the rim preserved. Stamped at the centre, a palmette, then four palmettes resting on a ring. The glaze fired mostly to a sealing-wax red.

101. (P 5262) Squat red-figured lekythos: maenad at altar. Fig. 15

Provenience as 96.

P.H., 0.135 m. D., 0.099 m.

Lip and handle missing; a small hole broken in the back. A band at junction of neck and shoulder slightly offset; in front reserved, decorated with bands, tongues and dots. Below, on an egg-pattern ground line, a woman wearing a chiton, left. In her left hand a thyrsos; in her right a phiale from which she is pouring a libation on a small altar. No relief contours. Blue-black glaze somewhat peeled.

102. (P 4849) Fragment of black-glazed stemless cup, stamped decoration. Figs. 8, 20

Found in a trial pit behind the retaining wall of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.

H., 0.054 m. D. est. 0.19 m.

Handles and much of wall missing; one rim fragment does not join. Plain ring foot, reserved inside decorated with alternate bands of black glaze and milos. Plain rim. Within, small stamped circles, surrounded by linked palmettes; twice repeated. Very good glaze. It is these elongated palmettes which most closely recall those on one of the stamped cups from the purification pit at Rheneia (p. 484, above).

The collection from which this piece comes is closely contemporary with that from our well, as such pieces as a low ribbed cup (P 4858) exactly like our 49, but with both handles preserved, and also the quality and variety of the stamped ware, sufficiently indicate. One of the stemless cups with stamped decoration (P 4848) seems to have come from the same shop, if not the same hand, as our two large cup-kotylai, 10 and 11. In fabric and ornament it is even finer than they; it carries, moreover, a useful indication of relative date: the central motif is not a rosette, but a many-rayed star, a pattern to be associated with red-figured cups having incised ornament such as the Karlsruhe painter's piece, noted above, rather than with later developments. (A fragment of another cup very like it in style and date is Graef-Langlotz, *op.cit.*, pl. 90, 1272.) The fragments of red-figure found with these vases, notably parts of a small kantharos (P 4843), further suggest the date 440-430 for the collection.

103. (P 420) Red-figured kotyle. Fig. 3

Section Δ, closed deposit; near the southwest corner of the Agora.

P.H., 0.15 m. D., of base 0.20 m. T., of walls ca. 0.019 m.

Partial relief contours. Brown on the basin and the seat of the stool, and for shading in the folds of drapery. The resting surface of the ring foot reserved, and the space inside, the latter covered with pink wash and decorated with three glaze circles around a central dot. The inside fired entirely red; the outside a mottled red below the figures and around the feet of the seated personage. The scratch, seen beneath the legs of the chair, appears to be an instance of damage in process of manufacture. The pot was set too close, apparently, to a neighbor in the kiln; the glaze stuck; but the reserved surfaces were unaffected.

For the painter's hand, compare the triple curves used to distraction on the vase from which he takes his name, *Att. V.*, p. 447, 2; also, the use of brown wash for filling in between the fold-lines, the smudge of brown which emphasizes the position of the staff against the drapery, and a similar smudge suggesting the shadow cast by the garment against the leg of the seated figure.

104. (P 428) Black-glazed stemless cup, stamped decoration. Fig. 7

Provenience as **103**.

P.H., 0.037 m. D. est. 0.13 m., D. at base 0.048 m.

Plain ring foot; plain rim. Stamped inside, a circle of eggs, then alternating lotus and palmette, linked. Glazed all over, metallic, greyed in firing.

105. (P 423) Black-glazed cup-kotyle. Fig. 21

Provenience as **103**.

H., 0.057 m. D., 0.121 m.

Profile of foot as **14**, Fig. 20. Inside the foot, reserved, colored pink, and decorated with dot and circles. The glaze somewhat mottled in firing.

106. (P 433) Deep brazier. Fig. 27

Provenience as **103**.

H., as restored, to knob, 0.19 m. D., 0.21 m.

About half preserved; restored. The wall thickens toward the top so as to form a rim, sloping slightly inwards, from which project small flat horizontal lugs. Between the two preserved lugs, a vertical knob-like projection. The wall is pierced with several small holes and has on one side a large rectangular opening. Micaceous red to brown clay. **83** is a fragment from a brazier of the same shape as this.

107. (P 4263) Fragment of black-glazed stemless cup, stamped decoration. Fig. 6

With pottery of the third quarter of the fifth century and earlier.

P.H., 0.023 m. D., of base est. ca. 0.115 m.

A fragment from the floor only. High, moulded ring foot; glazed all over save for a reserved circular space with ring and dot decoration in the centre beneath. Stamped decoration, rosette, linked palmettes, ring of small eggs, tongue pattern, a second palmette chain. Good glaze.

108. (P 5482) Fragment of stemless cup with ribbed walls and stamped decoration. Figs. 5, 20

From a small pocket excavated in the area below the Areopagos, with several red-figured vases of the later fifth century (as P 1052, a fragmentary large open pot—stamnos?—attributed by Professor Beazley to the Pothos painter).

H., 0.062 m. D. est. 0.173 m., D. of foot 0.081 m.

A small fragment of the rim preserved, not joining; much of the sides, part of the floor and foot, missing. The spring of one handle attachment preserved. The rim plain, out-turning; the sides, from below it to just above the foot, ornamented with broad shallow vertical grooves, widely and rather irregularly spaced. Moulded foot, lightly moulded within; a scraped groove just above it inside. The resting surface reserved, also bands within the foot. The glaze in part fired red.

For the ribbing, and the rim profile, on a stemmed cup, cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, 48, 5. The rosette and tongue decoration is sometimes combined with unlinked small deepset palmettes such as those of **109**; compare the stamped decoration of a late red-figured cup in the Louvre (Pottier, *Album*, III, pl. 159, 638, outside only).

109. (P 5483) Fragment of a small black-glazed stemless cup, with stamped decoration. Fig. 10

Provenience as 108.

D., of foot *ca.* 0.073.

About half the floor, none of the rim, preserved. On the wall outside, part of a reserved area (handle space?) remains. Scraped grooves, colored pink, inside and outside the moulded foot. Inside it, the centre reserved, with circles and dot in thin glaze. Border and centre, small round depressions set in a ring; around the centre, linked palmettes, sharply outlined. Excellent glaze.

It was this framed stamp, better seen on a piece in the Acropolis collection (Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 91, 1276) than on any here illustrated, which found such favor with the Campanian potters. The Acropolis piece, like those here illustrated, should belong to the last years of the fifth or the first of the fourth century. For the later career of stamps of this sort in Attica, cf. *Hesp.*, III, 1934, p. 431, fig. 115. Campanian and Attic types are well to be contrasted among the finds from Ensérune, *C.V.A.*, Collection Mouret, pls. 24–30.

110. (P 5484) Fragment of black-glazed cup, stamped decoration. Fig. 10

Provenience as 108.

Max. D., 0.042 m.

A bit from the floor only. Beneath, reserved, with black glaze circles and dot. At the centre, four small palmettes set round a (partly visible) circle. Plump palmettes, neatly outlined.

111. (P 5485) Fragment of black-glazed cup, stamped decoration. Fig. 10

Provenience as 108.

Max. D., 0.041 m.

A bit from the floor only. Black glaze beneath; at the centre, four palmettes, beyond, a ring of palmettes set between grooves. The palmettes extremely straight petalled; the stamp set so that in most cases only one half of the motif is impressed.

112. (P 2837) Black-glazed fragment, stamped decoration. Fig. 8

Found in a well to the southeast of the Tholos, in its lower fill, to be dated in the last years of the fifth century, or the first of the fourth.

D., of base 0.087.

Probably from the centre of a bowl; the plain ring foot preserved; none of the walls. Six palmettes stamped round a central ring; then a circle of eggs, and palmettes spaced around it. Firm glaze all over, except for grooves at junction of wall and foot. Close to this in date, but rather more careful and elaborate, *Olynthus*, V, pl. 153, 559. For the shape and decoration of these bowls, cf. W. Technau, *A. M.*, 54, 1929, pp. 43–47, figs. 32–33, and the references there.

113. (P 2834) Partly glazed krater. Fig. 25

From the same well as 112, but from the upper fill: early fourth century. The few stamped fragments found in this context show simple groups of four or five palmettes, of a type similar to those on 112, arranged either with or without a central ring.

H., 0.248 m. D., 0.385 m.

One handle, a bit of the rim, much of the body and the entire base missing. Buff slip outside; inside thin black to reddish glaze; a band of glaze outside around the body. The missing foot can be restored from the large numbers of similar fragments found in the same well. They show not the sloping upper surface of earlier examples but a much straighter edge; the foot is thus a plain ring, either rounding, or sometimes nearly rectangular in section.

114. (P 917) Black-glazed cup-kotyle with stamped decoration. Figs. 8, 9, 20

From a well below the Areopagos, with red-figured pieces from the last years of the fifth century.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.155 m.

About a quarter of the lip, and half of one handle restored. Moulded ring foot, a scraped groove above it; the resting surface and the space inside, reserved. Rim offset on inside only. Stamped on the floor, linked palmettes in an ovolo circle.

115. (P 3711) Black-glazed cup-kotyle, stamped decoration. Figs. 8, 20

From the filling inside the foundations of the small rectangular building in the sanctuary of Apollo Patroös. The latest objects in this filling parallel the latest found at Olynthos [Dr. Thompson].

H., 0.165 m. D., 0.132 m.

Many fragments from the wall, and most of the handles missing. Slightly moulded ring foot; flaring lip, offset on the inside, out-turned at the edge. Underneath, reserved, with glazed bands. Stamped inside, around a central circle, four palmettes on elongated links, surrounded by a band of simple rouletting, the strokes end to end.

116. (P 1095) Black-glazed cup-kotyle, stamped decoration. Fig. 20

Found with other pottery of the fourth century, and perhaps later, in front of a retaining wall below the Areopagos.

H., 0.06 m. D., 0.126 m.

Both handles broken off, and more than half the sides missing. Rather high moulded foot, a scraped groove separating it from the body; the resting surface reserved, also the space within the foot, with glazed circles. Lip offset inside; outcurved at the edge. Inside, a triple rouletted circle enclosing four stamped palmettes, widely spaced. Firm black glaze, slightly metallic.

117. (P 1096) Small black-glazed bowl. Fig. 8

Provenience as **116.**

H., 0.052 m. D., 0.132 m.

Part of the wall missing. High ring foot; scratched groove at junction with body; resting surface unglazed. Lip out-turned. Stamped inside, four palmettes, then a band of eggs, then palmettes on long links. Glaze good but much worn; in part fired red.

VASES FROM VARIOUS PLACES: **118–122**

118. (P 3903) Black-glazed stemless cup, stamped decoration. Fig. 20

H., 0.05 m. D. est. 0.12 m.

One handle, part of the other, and fragments of rim and walls missing. Ring foot, triangular in section; plain rim. Reserved and colored with miltos: a line at the top of the foot and on the under side two tiny rings in the centre, and two midway between centre and edge. Stamped inside, palmettes around a rosette. Excellent glaze and fabric; style of **10** and **11**.

119. (P 3904) Black-glazed cup-kotyle, stamped decoration. Fig. 10

H., 0.044 m. D., 0.09 m.

Both handles and parts of ring and walls missing. Incurving rim; profiled ring foot, flat and very broad beneath. Reserved, a groove around the top of the foot, the resting surface, and the centre inside, with circles and dot. Stamped inside, a rosette formed of four small leaves and four eggs, within a wreath of small leaves in pairs. The glaze rather dull.

The pattern is unusual in Attic stamped decoration. It appears, however, on a small oinochoe, of the best period, in the Reading University collection. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, pl. 62, 7. A wreath of a still different type, on a stemless kantharos, Schaal, *op.cit.*, pl. 58h, rather recalls painted wreaths, like that of our 8.

120. (P 1073) Red-figured kotyle. Fig. 13

H., 0.125 m. D., at lip *ca.* 0.17 m.

One handle, about half the rim, and more than half of the wall of face B missing.

A. Woman right, carrying a box.

B. The lower part of a mantle-clad figure, right. No relief contours. Brown decoration on the woman's kerchief, and on the box. The resting surface reserved and the underside, washed with pink, and decorated with concentric rings of glaze. Glaze thick, rather dull.

121. (P 3506) Fragment of small red-figured kotyle. Fig. 14

H., 0.034 m. On the top of the vertical handle, an owl between olive twigs; around the lower part of the body, a reserved band with crossed lines. No relief contours.

A palmette appears in this position on a kotyle in New Haven, Paul V. C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, New Haven, 1922, p. 105, fig. 34. For owl-kotylai, cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. 48, 9; pl. 62, 1, 2, and the references there; also Langlotz, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

122. (P 2107) Fragment of a small red-figured stemless cup with incised ornament. Fig. 11

D. of medallion, and of foot, est. *ca.* 0.08 m., Max. dim., 0.045 m.

The upper part only of the foot is preserved, straight-sided; probably finished with a moulded edge below. Inside the foot, glazed, with reserved circles. In the medallion, Eros, right, in a dancing pose, his hands clasped above his head. Relief contours. The medallion border is formed by a circle of motifs resembling egg-pattern, set end to end in a shallow groove, incised beneath the glaze.

The wings are very much like those of the erotes on the onos from Eretria (*Att. V.*, p. 429, 1); nor is the drawing less fine. The size and placing of the figure suggest, however, that in this case Eros is much smaller than the lady whom he attends. Some variant of motifs such as those on the Washing painter's marriage lebes (*Att. V.*, p. 431, 3), may be supposed. A composition such as its central group would well suit a cup medallion.

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